

# THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

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## Ecclesiastical Affairs.

### PRESSURE ON THE BRAIN.

THE Rev. Robert Hall, in reply to an inquiry from Dr Gregory, whether he did not think Dr Kippis a clever man, said—"He might be a very clever man by nature, for aught I know, but he laid so many books on his head that his brains could not move." A happier description of the effect produced by the accumulation upon a man's mind of the lore dug out of libraries, it is impossible to conceive. It will serve us as a torch to fling its light to the end of the path along which we wish to conduct our readers. A similar paralysis of all mental activity afflicts society at large, as the result of nationally authorised and endowed standards of truth. Very expensive institutions, framed with an express view of sustaining certain dogmas—institutions weighty with years and worldly respectability—act upon the public mind much as books were said to have done upon the brains of Dr Kippis—prevent it from moving. They produce a kind of intellectual numbness. They render torpid the spirit of inquiry. They present formidable obstacles to the free and healthful exercise of thought. Let us illustrate this.

Time was when Aristotle held undisputed sway in the intellectual world. Held to be the prince of philosophers, his works came at length to be regarded as an authority from which there was no appeal. He was enthroned in all the universities of Europe. Schoolmen of every grade did homage to him. To dissent from Aristotle was heresy. The despotism went on for ages, consolidating itself. The dogmas of the philosopher gathered about them the fashion, the wealth, the learning, the honour, of then existing society. These served to increase the weight of his name and influence—until, at last, such was the burden of his authority, as thoroughly to benumb the public mind. Anything like a disposition to inquire after truth was repressed. Scarcely a specimen can be found, amid the relics of the mediæval ages, of aught deserving the name of independent research. Men's minds followed in the wake of the great leviathan—or rather, to revert to the illustration with which we started, society had Aristotle on its head, and its "brains could not move."

Religious establishments conduce to the same results. The more ancient, the more wealthy, the more venerable they are, the more oppressive is their influence upon the mind of society. In proportion to the weight of a national church, is the inactivity of the national mind. History teems with proofs of this remark. That of our own country is no exception. A standard authority in one of the main departments of thought, stamped with the seal of government, and recognised by all classes laying claim to influence, produces a very general indisposition to free inquiries after truth. With the majority of men the thing is looked upon as already and altogether settled. The age and the immense extent of our ecclesiastical institutions, press upon the mind of society like an immovable mass, beneath which thought is quite indisposed to move. The first heavings of curiosity have to overcome the gravitation of what may be called "authorised" truth. Accordingly, curiosity is generally content to lie quiet. The public usually acquiesce in what is strongly, unhesitatingly, and unceasingly affirmed. The existence of a numerous and ancient body, paid out of the public purse, to maintain certain theological opinions, attaches to those opinions in many minds an authority which it would be presumptuous to dispute. Ten millions a year, and upwards of twelve thousand churches, devoted to the support of a definite creed, preclude, more generally perhaps than is commonly thought, any doubt as to the soundness of that creed. The magnitude of the institution serves for weight of argument. Society has an establishment upon its head, and its "brains cannot move."

Were Christianity in this country suddenly thrown back upon the resources of the voluntary principle, the increased activity of thought, in every department, arising from entire relief in the most important one from the pressure of an authorised standard, would be perfectly startling. In politics, as well as in religion, clearer views would obtain—clearer, because men would feel themselves at liberty to look around them and see things as they are. We are happy in being able to cite confirmation of this opinion from an unexpected source. Our readers, we are convinced, will not be ill pleased if, instead

of elaborating our own views, we present them with the views on this head of one of the most eloquent writers of the present day—John Robertson, Esq. In a tract devoted to the advocacy of the non-intrusion cause—a tract which professes to be the first of a series under the title of "The Occasional Articles," we find the following contrast between Christianity and establishments:—

"Were I asked to name one of the worst effects of church establishments I should say—they neutralise the Christian idea of dignity. The servant is greatest in the New Testament—the lord is greatest in the established churches. A god-like dignity, according to Christianity, invests the servant who, victorious over selfishness, does, makes, and suffers most for others. According to establishments, power and honour, the appointment of the pastor, the highest place, the pew adorned with armorial bearings, the glaring escutcheon, the black hangings, and the bannered tomb, belong to proud and triumphant selfishness, riding in painted coaches, clothed in ermine, and tricked out in stars, swords, and coronets. In the Bible glory is a radiance from the man: in the establishments the honour follows the accidents. Christ says, honour most those who are most successfully unselfish—aristocratic churches say, by all their peculiar influences, honour most those who are selfish most successfully. Barbarism connects scorn, contempt, and meanness with poverty and weakness; and the established churches embody the feelings of barbarism by excluding the lowly from power and honour. The religion of the Son of the carpenter of Nazareth looks only for moral qualities in the poor man, and finding them, clothes him with a sacred power, and adorns him with a celestial glory. Establishments honour the oppressor—Christianity the oppressed. An advanced civilisation is now teaching that selfishness cannot be dignified by dual coronets. Selfishness is vice and baseness even while it wields a royal sceptre. According to the noble doctrines now abroad, genius which betters and blesses the lives of men, fills the real thrones of the world."

The writer immediately adds, and we entirely concur with him:—

"Now, by their secession, the most loved and influential of the clergy of Scotland will insensibly and unconsciously become teachers of these democratic views of dignity. They may not become politicians; but they cannot prevent their influences from making democracy, still more than it is, a part of the sacred convictions of the Scotch. The free kirk will be to the upper classes of the towns, and the middle classes of the agricultural districts, a most powerful teacher of the doctrines which make men greater and lords less."

True! "The doctrines which make men greater and lords less" will be discerned readily enough by a kirk thrown at last upon the voluntary principle. "Democratic views of dignity" are altogether beyond the ken of men receiving state pay, and are but dimly discerned by any who acquiesce in the authority of church establishments. As Mr Robertson most justly observes, "Aristocratic doctrines will, undoubtedly, be taught for aristocratic stipends." We may add, "Like priests, like people." Wherever the clergy are free to teach, those who listen to them are free to think. Endowments and inquiry seldom go hand in hand.

No man, we should imagine, can shut his eyes to the certainty that, upon the deposition of the national church, the urgent and incessant appeals of the voluntary principle will prick society into inquiry. "What is it we are asked to support, and why must we support it?" will be questions occurring to ten thousand minds for the first time. And the demand, as the economists have it, will create the supply. To give the "what" and the "why" will be the care of every sect. Truth will then stand upon no ground but that of argument. To ask for sufficient reasons will become a habit, which, just in proportion as it exercises, will also refine itself. The public mind, relieved of an incubus, will soon show signs of returning activity—and even the collisions of sect with sect will chafe it into something like animation.

### THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND.

WE gave in the postscript of our last number a brief outline of the first evening's debate in the house of Commons upon the affairs of the Scottish kirk. The conclusion of it will be found in its proper place this week. The division against the claims of the non-intrusion party was large and, we should think, decisive. The General Assembly will not meet before the month of May next, and present indications point to a probable disruption of the establishment. We take it for granted, although many of our most sagacious contemporaries appear to doubt it, that the non-intrusion ministers will accomplish their threat—that they will renounce the aid of the state, and retire behind the lines of the voluntary principle.

Now that matters are evidently driving to this

issue, we are but little inclined to treat the seceding party with levity or disrespect. Doubtless by far the majority of them little contemplated, at the commencement of their agitation—an agitation entered upon, we believe, with a view to stay the progress of dissent, and, if possible, to recover ground already lost—being so soon drifted by it beyond the pale of the establishment. The present probable termination of their career is far enough from what they originally intended. Thus much, however, may be said of all who embark in great movements. Luther, when he proposed his theses, would have shrunk with horror could he then have foreseen that ere long he would publicly burn the pope's bull. Hampden, Pym, Elliot, Vane, and their com-patriots meant anything at the commencement of their course, but the utter overthrow of monarchy. Men who are in earnest, even in little things, soon make for themselves a wider range of vision. Sincerity, though it propose to accomplish but insignificant objects, cannot go about the work it has in hand, at least where it has to encounter considerable obstruction, without making acquaintance with other truths than those embraced in the first instance. The Scottish clergymen who embarked in what is called the cause of non-intrusionism, are justly regarded as sharing amongst them by far the larger portion of the fervid piety existent in the Scottish kirk. They set themselves to claim for the communicants of the church the power of appointing their own ministers, which, since the days of Anne, has been vested in the hands of the lairds of the soil. They did so, seemingly, without being aware that ecclesiastical establishments are supported by the state simply with a view to the patronage, and, through it, to the political power which they place at the disposal of government. They have talked largely, but the civil authorities do not quail. They have defied law, but law has beaten them. They memorialised the cabinet, and the cabinet gave them a clear, emphatic, unmistakable, No. They have now appealed to parliament, and parliament, by a large division, has told them that lay patronage must continue. To men in earnest there is, of course, but one alternative—they must quit the establishment in which these evils are maintained.

The event, should it take place, strikes us as likely to form one of the redeeming features of modern history. Society has positively forgotten that it lies within the limits of what is possible to human nature, heartily to believe in truth and to suffer for it. The spirit of whiggism has so completely sapped the morality of the age, that the sacrifice of substantial comforts for what are now called "mere abstractions," is looked upon as belonging only to the region of romance. Should, therefore, five hundred ministers of truth throw up their stipends at the bidding of conscience, and commit themselves and their families in confident trust to that Almighty Providence, which—

—Doth the raven feed,  
And providently caters for the sparrow,"

a sterner rebuke will be administered to sneering, profligate, and semi-infidel aristocracy, than has been given by any event of modern times. Albeit, the seceding party do not yet discern, as clearly as we could wish, the soundness of the principle upon which they are about to commit themselves; we hail their earnestness, and bid them welcome, if not to our ranks, at all events to our sympathies.

The question is too large a one to be dismissed in a passing article, and other opportunities will doubtless present themselves for discussing the probable effect of this movement upon other important national interests.

ALLEGED DISHONESTY OF REFUSING CHURCH-RATES.—"When our protestant forefathers began to struggle against the dominant church, what would have been justice if the voice of justice could have been heard? Clearly that the dissentients should have been allowed to carry away their portion of the church establishment upon their backs, as a snail carries its house. But this was of course much too good for the dominant church; and the consequence was that the dominant church was overthrown, and another established on its ruins. And what was justice then is justice now. The dissenter has a just claim to his share of the general fund appropriated by the nation for the maintenance of religion. The term "national establishment" applied to the establishment of a single sect, is on the face of it a fraud and a falsehood; the establishment is not national—it is the establishment of a particular sect at the expense of the other sects. If the dissenter chooses to waive his claim to his share of the proceeds, this is anything but a reason why he should be oppressed by a payment instead. As it is, church rates are taken from the holders of all property subjected to



them, by the depreciation of all such property; for it is presumable the supporters of church rates do not mean to say that church rates are paid by nobody, because all property subjected to them is sold at a diminished rate. The dissenters have property as well as other people; the dissenters therefore pay the church rates like other people, through the depreciation of their property. If, then, a dissenter, after buying property at the universally depreciated price in which the property of dissenters has shared, has the boldness or the good luck to be able to refuse church rates—what he does is simply to recover, as far as the case reaches, a portion of what ought, from the beginning, to have been left in his hands as his share of the national contribution for the maintenance of religion, and the amount of which he is actually at this moment disbursing for the support of his own ministers.

And next, that the complainants got their property subject to the rate; which is the crack argument a party leader in the house of Commons shall utter, and then turn round to his little boys behind and bid them cheer as if he had spoken oracles. Suppose, then, a certain per-centage, it matters not whether fifty, five, or one per-cent., were taken from the properties of the landed aristocracy, for some purpose extremely hostile to their wishes and interests, or at all events to keep up some establishment of which they would have no enjoyment, and by which would be entailed on them the necessity of expending the same money over again for an establishment of their own. Of what use would it be to ask, at some future time, whether the purchasers of land had not bought cheaper in consequence? It might be true of the purchasers; but where there was a first purchaser, was there not a seller? Put it to any man, put it to Sir Robert Peel himself, whether if there was injustice to begin with in taking this per-centage from the property of the land owners and their representatives, it would be anything but babyism or intended fraud that should argue that the evil was null and void because there was a race of after purchasers who had not suffered. The dissenters were wronged by an unjust impost—one which the sect established under the title of the Establishment would talk of resisting to the death, if the question were of levying it under the name of Peter's pence upon themselves. The whole value of the dissenters' property for ever, was diminished by the amount of the unjust impost; and the dissenters are to hold their peace forsooth, because some property has since been bought by dissenters at a reduced price as being subject to the impost. By the same rule, Dr Southwood Smith might have his skin taken off, upon the plea, that if he ever purchased an anatomical subject without a skin, he would pay a reduced price accordingly. Pay the doctor for his own skin; or what he will like still better, spare him the parting with it at all. But there is more yet. Do no dissenters build houses, and find the income from their brick and mortar diminished by precisely the value of the church rate? Do none of them create establishments, manufacturing or other, and find the church rate coming upon them in consequence, the owners all the time being under a virtual necessity of paying over again for the support of their own worship, in proportion to their rising means and standing in the world? Sift and turn it with all the art of all the little great men in the house of Commons, and it comes to nothing but this—that you are to reckon all the cases where neither the dissenter nor the churchman is touched by the consequences of church rates at all, and you are to put out of sight all the cases in which the churchman gets something he likes for his money, and the dissenter gets worse than nothing, to wit the contumely of being an enforced contributor to the expenses of a sect he does not approve, he all the while going to the further expense of supporting one of his own."—(Exercises, Political and others. By Col. Thompson.)

**CHURCH RATES AT HANDSWORTH.**—At a petty session held at Handsworth on the 4th inst., Mr John Meadows and Mr Samuel Kenrick of that parish appeared before the right hon. the Earl of Dartmouth and J. E. Piercy, Esq., to answer to the complaint of Mr Thomas Davies, one of the churchwardens, that they had refused to pay a church rate. Mr Kenrick objected to the rate as not being valid; the vicar of the parish having refused to put an amendment at the meeting called for laying the rate, Mr Meadows stated that he was a dissenter, and felt a conscientious objection to the payment of church rates, and refused to pay this. He complained of the vindictive feeling of the churchwarden towards him, as shown by his having sent him a message by the collector, that he would make him pay his church rate, which only amounted to two shillings and eightpence, even if, to effect this, it should be necessary for the parish to spend five hundred pounds in law proceedings. After a brief deliberation, the bench made an order that the defendants should pay the rate. This they did not do, as they had previously determined rather to allow their property to be sold under distraint than pay so unjust a demand. A correspondent adds (says the *Birmingham Journal*), "In order that the injustice of the churchwardens instituting proceedings in the ecclesiastical court in a case of which there can be no hope of establishing, through any expenditure, however great, of the parish funds, the validity of a rate made after the manner before mentioned, may be fully understood, it is needful to state, that of the thirteen hundred persons rated, more than nine hundred are unwilling to pay the rate, and the refusals to pay were so numerous that some months ago the churchwardens ordered the collector to desist from all further attempts to collect it."

**REFUSAL OF A CHURCH RATE AT ACKWORTH.**—A meeting was convened by the churchwardens, at the request of the Archdeacon, on the 23d of February, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, in the vestry of the parish church, at Ackworth, for the purpose of laying a rate for the repairs and other expenses of the church. At the appointed hour, indeed more than an hour before, a number of the friends of religious freedom were on consecrated ground, ready for the motion. The rector took the chair at eleven o'clock, and after reading the notice, the archdeacon's charge, and the items of expenses, including the removal of the font to the west end of the edifice, Mr George F. Linney moved, and Mr James Airey seconded, that the meeting adjourn to the vestry room, Ackworth, which was carried unani-

mously, much to the annoyance of the Chairman. The meeting was here first addressed by Mr John Simpson, churchwarden, who moved "that there be no spouting on the present occasion, nor any ill will toward us for doing our duty," and who asked for a rate of 3d. in the pound, which, after some delay, was seconded by Mr Thomas Topham. The Rector, in reply to a question from Mr Gully as to why the churchwardens had not tried a voluntary subscription, seeing it had never failed them yet, stated, "that before he would sanction and support a voluntary subscription, he would suffer his right arm or hand to be cut off his body." Mr Gully concluded his speech by moving that the meeting do adjourn to the 20th of October next, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, which was seconded by Joseph F. Tempest, Esq., and received with cheers. The chairman refused to put the amendment, which caused great hissing, yelling, and groaning. He was determined to put the motion for a rate, and required those who were for it to move to the right side of the room, and those who were against it to the left. Only one person besides the churchwardens, clerk, and sexton, were seen on the right side, whilst above 200 were seen on the left! Loud cheers followed this signal demonstration against the pro-rate party, but the Chairman, being extremely mortified at his position, vented his feelings in no mild terms upon Mr Gully and his supporters. On his preparing to quit the room, the scene was quite tumultuous. — *Leeds Mercury*.

**SUDBURY CHURCH RATE.**—The excitement in this little town on the subject of church rates appears rather to have increased than subsided. In consequence of the insulting manner in which the Mayor treated the Rev. Mr Higg, as described in our last number, a public meeting was called on Friday to thank Mr Higg for his spirited opposition to church rates, and to express sympathy with him under the arbitrary and insulting conduct of Mr W. B. Smith, the mayor. On Monday last, several more defaulters were brought before the magistrates and ordered to pay. Among them was Mr B. Goody, an active politician in the town, who treated the mayor to somewhat of a home-thrust, as the conclusion of the report of the case from the *Suffolk Chronicle* will prove:—

The Mayor: We make an order for payment. The order is made, Mr Goody. You shall not speak further.

Mr Goody: That's it, is it? I have been at some pretty work with you, Mr Smith, before now. Do you remember when I sat up all one Sunday night with you at your house bribing the people? I know I ought to be ashamed of it, I ought.

The Mayor: If you are not quiet, Mr Goody, I'll have you turned out of the court. Your business is done. Constables, remove that man.

Mr Goody: Oh! it's a very clever thing.

Mr Goody was then removed by two or three constables. How far such proceedings as the above are calculated to raise the established church in general estimation, or to gain respect to certain officials in the town, may be left to our readers to surmise. We have merely related the facts as they occurred, and abstain purposely from comment on them ourselves. The whole matter tells its own tale too expressively to require any remarks from us in elucidation.

**CHURCH-RATES.**—On the 2nd instant a meeting of the rate-payers of the parish of St Andrew, in Newcastle, was held in the vestry of the church, for the purpose of considering the propriety of a church-rate, for the erection of a new steeple. The Rev. W. Dodd, the incumbent was in the chair. All the plans and estimates had been privately prepared, and the meeting was called by a notice being placed on an obscure part of the church, where it could not possibly be seen by a great majority of the persons interested. Under these circumstances it was hoped that a rate of 4d. in the pound would be carried with little opposition. So obnoxious, however, is a church-rate considered by the parish, that there were few but the leaders to support its adoption. A resolution was proposed that the question be postponed for six months; but this the chairman, who was determined to have all his own way, refused to put, and it was only when he could no longer stand against the unanimous voice of the meeting that it was finally agreed to defer the subject for a month. — *Durham Chronicle*.

**CHURCH RATES.—PARKHAM.**—At a vestry meeting held here a few days since, the Rev. W. Walter, jun., in the chair, a church rate was refused by a majority in the proportion of 10 to 1. — *Western Times*.

**EVANGELICAL VOLUNTARY CHURCH ASSOCIATION.**—On Wednesday evening the annual meeting of this association was held at the London Tavern, the large room being nearly filled with a most respectable audience. G. S. Hankey, Esq., was called to the chair, in the absence of Sir C. E. Smith, who was gone on the continent for the benefit of his health. The secretary read the report of the association for the past year, which congratulated the members on the rapid progress of the opinions of the association amongst the numerous congregations of the Christian faith. The amount of the funds, however, was still inadequate, and they were still in arrears with the treasurer of the association. There have been five monthly meetings in different parts of the metropolis, espousing the cause of the society, which were most respectably attended. A very large meeting was also held at Birmingham, at which the Rev. Mr Burnet, of Camberwell, presided, and the greatest enthusiasm was manifested for the ultimate success of the principles of the society. The whole of the expenses of these meetings have been defrayed from the funds of the society, and the committee further recommended that monthly meetings be held in the several districts in London. 11,000 of the voluntary monthly tracts have been distributed in different metropolitan parishes, and upwards of 18,000 tracts in the provinces. The report having been unanimously adopted, Dr Leitch recommended the re-election of the officers of the institution, which was carried. The Rev. Mr Burnet, D. W. Wire, Esq., and another gentleman,

having addressed the meeting as to the merits of the society, for which the most enthusiastic feeling was displayed, the meeting broke up, a handsome collection having been made towards the funds of the society.

**HEALTH OF TOWNS.**—The London correspondent of the *Hants Independent*, who is for the most part well informed and correct in his surmises, gives the following as the scheme of government on this important subject. Should it prove correct, it will form an admirable companion to the national education scheme. Our benevolent rulers, not content with presiding over our morals, health, our commercial, social, and religious relationships, would, it seems, benignantly follow us to the grave. They have hitherto "done" for us in the former respects, but the prospect of an intention to "do" for us after death must surely call forth the liveliest expressions of gratitude from the nation. This plan and the scheme of national education make no mean equivalent for the threatened breaking up of the Scottish establishment. Thus does a dominant aristocracy recover, in another direction, a portion of that strength which, at a weak point, the advancing tide of public opinion may have swept away. The following is the statement:—

"The report of Mr Edwin Chadwick is a very voluminous document, and goes fully into the whole subject of funerals within the precincts of towns; its principal recommendation, which I have reason to think the government will act upon, will in the first instance be acted on with regard to the metropolis, and, if found to answer well there, will be adopted, no doubt, generally throughout the country. Government are to have the appointment of the officers to establishments which it is proposed to call 'National Cemeteries.' At the head of that in London will be placed an inspector-general of health, a deputy inspector, eight officers of health, and two subordinate officers, the salaries payable to whom will amount altogether to about £7,000 a year. The funds necessary to form these proposed national cemeteries, it is intended, shall be raised by loan, repayable in thirty years, and out of the loans so raised the compensation to all parties sustaining injury by the proposed measures is to be taken. The general arrangements of the new cemeteries are to be vested in the bishops of the various dioceses, and the woods and forests are to be given a discretionary power for taking all the necessary steps for the funerals of dissenters. These are the broad features of the plan, and it is not my wish to enter into the minor ones."

**THE SCOTTISH CHURCH.**—On Thursday evening a very crowded meeting was held in the National Scotch church, Regent's square, to hear an address from the Rev. Dr Candlish, of St George's, Edinburgh, on the present state and prospects of the established church of Scotland. The Rev. J. Hamilton, minister of the national Scotch church, having constituted the meeting with praise and prayer, the Rev. Dr Candlish delivered a lengthened address, in the nature of an explanatory statement of the reasons which had led so large a number of the ministers and elders of the church of Scotland to announce their intention of giving up their connexion with the state, in consequence of the refusal by the legislature of the claims which they had put forth. In the course of his address, Dr Candlish said—"They had now but to go home and prepare for relinquishing their endowments. They had now only to wait for the decision of the General Assembly, which would meet in about two months. They had been spoken of as the dominant party, but let it be recollected, that their acts were those of the church in its collective capacity, and acting through its proper organs."

**THE EXPECTED SCHISM.**—The *Scotsman's* private correspondent says—"It is now a joke in the Home office and parliament that Sir James Graham is overwhelmed with applications for any number of vacant kirks; and that he has a pocket-list of candidates anxious to supply the expected vacancies—"waiters on Providence," who are in a cold perspiration to see what the non-intrusion ministers will do!"

## Correspondence.

### ARE CHURCH RATES A BURDEN ON LAND?

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—Seeing a notice of your intention to furnish an extract on the subject of church rates, I am induced to believe, that if you could find room in some corner for what follows besides, it might do something towards adding to the searchings of the inquiry.

Suppose that the Anti-corn-law League had effected the laying of a tax on rent, and, for argument's sake, let it be one of nineteen shillings in the pound. For the object is not to test the propriety of a particular rate of tax, but the honesty of the reasoning advanced in support of any; and the man must be a lout who does not see the difference.

Imagine, therefore, the prime minister coming down to the house of Commons, and trying to convince the landed interest that neither they nor their successors were damaged by the rate; and for this special reason, that land was subsequently bought and sold with a due deduction for the infliction. How would the landed aristocracy flame up, and forgetting the "parliamentary," exclaim in the plainest of their mother tongue, "Thou knave, is it because nineteen-twentieths of the value of our property is taken away from us and our heirs for ever, that either we or they are to rejoice over the fact, that land is bought and sold for one-twentieth of what it was before? And supposing some of us do hereafter buy land at the value to which your imposition has reduced it—did it ever seriously enter the ministerial head-piece, that we were to mistake that for a removal of the confiscation which has been laid on us and ours?" Nor would his state be mended, if he had added the insult of intimating that every landowner, who at any time should think of escaping the nineteen shillings in the pound, was a dishonourable scoundrel trying to take that which was never his; and had looked cock-a-hoop round the house of Commons, by way of asking if there was any landowner who dared avow the base intent.

You see, sir, the difference between being of the oppressors or the oppressed, the robber or the "robbed." I suppose if any man thought of saying all this in the house of Commons, he would be told that,

"Making such a horrid noise in France, Is very contrary to benevolence."



and turned out on the first opportunity by a subscription of the liberal interest. Yours very sincerely,  
T. PERRONET THOMPSON.  
Blackheath, March 11th, 1843.

## ASSISTANT MINISTERS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR—In your paper of last week a query was proposed by "An Anxious Inquirer" respecting the authority the bishop of a Christian church has to employ a curate. I should like to see it answered. Next to scriptural views of ordination this question has a claim on the attention of those who profess to be guided, both as individuals and churches, by the New Testament. Does that sacred volume countenance the office of an assistant to a pastor? I trow not; but should be happy to learn your opinion respecting the office John Mark filled when, in Acts xiii. 5, Paul and Barnabas had him to be their minister? These are times when dissenters ought to be able to point to chapter and verse in justification of the varied functionaries they employ in the Christian church. If the above passage has any bearing on the office of one who preaches and visits the flock, under the authority of the pastor, I shall then justify a practice common among ministerial brethren, but not till then. I am, dear sir, &c.

AMICUS.

25th Feb. 1843.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—A short time since a note, written by a reverend gentleman in Hampshire, appeared in your pages, correcting some mistakes contained in a paragraph inserted in your department for "Religious News."

I wish to call attention to the concluding lines of that note, which were these—"In the next place, the office contemplated is not a co-pastorate, but simply that of an assistant."

Now, sir, I do not doubt but that the writer has a very definite conception of the essential difference in the offices which he thus emphatically, and as I thought, rather unfeelingly, distinguishes; and also, of the great importance attaching to such discrimination; but I confess, sir, that nothing to warrant such a distinction has been discovered by me in the New Testament; and if this be indeed the case, the sooner such a mode of expression be disused the better.

It was frequently the case, in primitive times, that Christian churches had a plurality of bishops or pastors; but I know of no instance in which precedence and subsequence were thus painfully indicated, as in the case to which I now refer, by the refusal of the name "co-pastor." They are represented as occupying a co-ordinate position; they are called "co-workers." Is not "the assistant" chosen by the uplifted hands of the church? Is he not set apart to dispense the word and ordinances? Is not, then, his commission as legitimate as that of him who would arrogate to himself "the pastorate?" Then, why refuse him the name of co-pastor? The only circumstance in such cases which appears to indicate inequality, is the fact that the second minister—the so called assistant—generally receives a smaller salary. Perhaps, sir, you will be kind enough to make some editorial remarks on this point, perhaps for the first time publicly mooted, and thus oblige yours sincerely,

CRANBRUCENSIS.

Feb. 27, 1843.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

"What! shall King Henry be a pupil still?"

DEAR SIR—Believing that the principles involved in congregational dissent are amongst those civil and religious truths, for the maintenance and spread of which your paper was established, I am induced to call your attention and that of your readers to the above-named subject, since to me this new gradation seems not only a violation of the principles of independency, but a dangerous departure from scripture, as a model of church government; abandoning this, we are at once afloat on the sea of expediency, without a compass or a guiding star. I suppose there are no congregational dissenters who would not agree with Milton, "that church government is prescribed in the gospel, and that to say otherwise is unsound." "That church government is set down in the holy scriptures, and that to say otherwise is untrue."

What an assistant minister is, I cannot exactly define. It is a novel and a mongrel idea; and, regarded as a question of natural philosophy, you would confer no inconsiderable benefit in the way of enlightenment, if you could explain to what class, order, and genus this new creation belongs.

It is somewhat lamentable, sir, that there should be in the minds of some aged ministers a dislike, I will not say jealousy, in reference to co-pastors; and that this dislike should be one among the many other influences which are leading to the establishment of an inferior caste, called assistant ministers.

I always imagined that an essential element of independency was not only the freedom of one church from the control of others, but the rejection of all gradations in the priesthood; regarding all ministers of the gospel as holding the same position of dignity.

Although the immediate consequences of this innovation may not be disastrous, you will agree with me, sir, that every constitutional change, however unimportant, should be carefully scrutinised, lest irregularity pass into custom, and custom into law. The greatest changes have been introduced, both into civil and ecclesiastical governments, by a less innovation than this; nor would it, perhaps, be difficult to show that the adoption of a new name has sometimes been the first movement towards the subversion of liberty.

To us—paternal as this new arrangement may appear to some—it seems very much like the germ of a proud and insolent hierarchy. That there is at present no positive contemplation of such a result, we readily admit; but let dependence and authority once be established, then—

"Faster than spring-time showers, comes thought on thought, And not a thought but thinks on dignity." That it is dangerous and unsound to establish that which is unscriptural, we shall not attempt to prove, since it is the first principle, not only of protestantism in general, but of congregationalism in particular. Can it then, for a moment, be debated whether anything of this kind is to be found in the New Testament? If so, the burden of proof rests with those who assert it. There may be something about it in Paul's lost parchments, or in some critic's various readings, but nothing has yet found its way into the received text.

If the supporters of this new system refer to antiquity,

we will go with them as far back as possible, namely, to the Bible, the oldest and most valid authority. "For antiquity itself," says Milton, "hath turned over this controversy to that sovereign book we had so fondly straggled from."

As to the origin of this new order, there seems to me, sir, of late, to have grown up a new schism in society. We have long ago had aristocracy struggling with democracy, conservatism with progression; but this is age contending against youth.

You will lament with me, sir, that this unseemly controversy should have been carried on in reference to the pulpit, where, of all places, there should be no distinction but that of talent and goodness.

The classification of old and young, is the most obvious, and least discriminating of any that could be hit upon. None need be told that there are young men who are not frivolous, and old men who are not wise. Many a head is silvered by age, without being lined by experience.

But to abuse or to exalt men by classes, is the sure indication of a narrow mind. The principle on which the schism we have mentioned is founded, like all human tendencies, is old as Adam. Horace hints at it as if it peeped out even during the golden age of Augustus, and he seems to expect its continuance, for he advises young poets to take the following as the measure of poetic probability, and which must be followed by all those who would make a description—"true to the life:—"

"laudator temporis acti  
Se puero, censor castigatque minorum."

A few months ago a very "aged minister" put his lips to the "evangelical" trumpet, and sounded the blast of war throughout our churches; but when a patriot band of young men stepped forth to defend their own cause, only one was allowed to enter the field, and considering the disadvantage of his antagonist, who was enfeebled by age, the editor allied himself with the weak, and attacked the young man in the rear.

Ille doctus senex—this aged minister has been followed by many of the same genus; especially of late by one "Scrutator" (in the *Patriot*), supposed to be a "judicious deacon"—"pious, doubtless," yet somewhat inexperienced, though "a reader of the *Patriot* from its commencement."

This gentleman, after enumerating the deficiencies of young men, of which he seems to have met with an unfavourable specimen, advises the churches to take them under their fostering wings, catching them up as they come out of college, and making them into assistant ministers.

Scrutator had very benignly waited until many contributors to the *Patriot* published their ideas, and then appointed himself judge, to dismiss with judicial finality the whole affair.

But, sir, I appeal to a higher court, and gladly remove this controversy to the *Nonconformist*—for I am assured that they who know well how to perform with honour and success the duties of any office, will be the first to perceive what is derogatory to its dignity, and the readiest to repel every unprincipled innovation; and can it be pretended, sir, that this is no innovation, and that it is not derogatory to that pulpit which is itself a tacit appeal to the "dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion?"

The suggestions of Scrutator would be somewhat dangerous if they were not backed by arguments which indicate his ignorance of students generally. He imagines that they live in a cloister, until they are settled over a church; and that when they thus break forth upon the world, they for the first time begin to pick up ideas. By inquiry, sir, he might have learned that most of these young men have had their share in the bustle and business of the world before they entered a college; and that during their term of residence there they are not strictly confined within its walls. Some of the young men he describes, will not, I fear, be much better when they grow old.\* But what is the remedy for want of experience? Simply an inverted pyramid; they must leave the regular professors of a college, and go to exercise their gifts under an "aged minister." It seems taken for granted, that to have wisdom one must be old, as if we could learn nothing from the experience of others. Might not a young man write thus to his friend—"My dear Scrutator, Providence is employed in bringing good out of evil; and we are told to learn wisdom from other people's folly. Will you, then, be kind enough to favour me with your autobiography—Yours, &c., A Young Man."

We are told that few people will trust their lives to a young physician—that he must gain experience by long practice before anybody will employ him. We suppose he goes to Jupiter to get people to practise on.

The young lawyer gets "under the shade of a more practised and experienced senior, whose judgment he consults, and whose commands he obeys"—and the churches are to study "analogy." Surely, sir, the churches might be content with their Bible; and while that is followed, no minister will obey the commands of another.

Besides, sir, analogy will teach us to avoid this innovation for which Scrutator and others plead. He tells us that these young ministers might be sent out under the direction of their seniors, and form small "unproductive causes" in the neighbourhood. Now, sir, I do not advise Scrutator to forsake the *Patriot*, but if he could manage to read Mosheim as well, he would discover that the small causes he describes are just analogous to the beginning of prelacy; that episcopacy itself grew out of the very plan he wishes to introduce amongst congregationalists. When will our churches "learn from analogy?"

In conclusion, sir, may I beg your serious attention to this new order, as a violation of congregational principles, and one step towards an unscriptural predominance. Sir, your columns have taught us that the most effectual way to fit a man for the discharge of any duty is to place him in a position in which he is called upon to perform it. Treat men as children, and they will be childish; and young ministers will never be prepared for the steady, consistent, and manly discharge of their duty by being kept in leading-strings. Shall a man never enter the battle till he has learned to be courageous—nor ever touch water till he is able to swim?

Is it not time, sir, for dissenting ministers to be united?—the aged to bear with the unavoidable failures of the youthful, and the young to revere and love their seniors? Away, then, with this apprenticeship as the prelude to freedom—let them embrace as fathers and

\* "A fool will become wise when a wild ass's colt is born a man, i. e. never," says Gesenius, who, with the heavy wit of a lexicographer, explains what even a young man could guess at.

sons—the one ardent, the other cautious, in advocating the cause of their common and their only Master.

Yours, &c.,  
DIGAMMA.

## CITY CORPORATE REFORM—THE IRISH SOCIETY.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—Some interest is now excited as to the manner in which the money of the citizens of London is fingered by the small tradesmen who compose its corporation, and I scarcely think that a portion of the space allotted in your columns to matters of a local nature could be more usefully filled than by an exposure of the huge and hideous corruptions of that body. I append a statement relative to one committee of the court of common council, known to the public by the deceptive title of the Irish society; and if acceptable, further and numerous proofs of their management in other departments can readily be adduced, all supplied from their own documents, for out of their own mouths "can we judge these wicked servants."

A system of things such as exists in the corporation of London cannot be too soon extirpated—it is the grave of all purity of principle. Member after member enters it with fairest intentions, but surely and soon does his mind become debauched and his tongue silent, so insidious are the forms of its corruptions.

Your constant reader,

INVESTIGATOR.

## RECEIPTS:

Balance of last year's account.....	£255 8 9
Rents (which ought to produce £12,000).....	6,689 10 4
Do, Fisheries.....	1,252 0 0
Dilapidations.....	40 14 0
Amount borrowed on interest.....	5,600 0 0
Income tax.....	18 16 10
	£13,756 9 11

## EXPENDITURE:

Permanent payments—Bishop of Derry, corporation of Derry, quit rents, poor rates, &c. &c.....	£1,061 17 14
Schools, in small sums of 5l. 10l. 15l. 20l. 30l. 50l. 60l.....	951 0 0
Charitable contributions, also in small sums chiefly.....	700 4 0
Incidental expenses, Ireland, 124l. 7s. 1d.; England, 522l. 9s. 8d.....	646 16 9
Law expenses, Ireland, 3,020l.; England, 2,731l. 15s. 6d.....	5,751 15 6
Parliamentary expenses.....	52 1 0
Salaries, Ireland, £890l.; England, 341l. 13s. 4d.....	1,231 13 4
Pensions, Henry Schultes, 175l.; J. C. Beresford, 320l.....	495 0 0
Members, for their attendances.....	527 12 0
Repairs at the Irish society's chambers, i. e. committee rooms, England.....	250 6 3
Interest on loans.....	420 12 2
In aid of public improvements in Ireland.....	608 1 0
Balance in favour of the society.....	1,059 10 10
	£13,756 9 11

## Imperial Parliament.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

## PETITIONS FOR THE WEEK.

American treaty, against, 4.  
Bankruptcy act, for amendment of, 2.  
Church of England, for extension of, 29.  
Church of Scotland, for relief of, 7.  
Corn Laws, for repeal of, 28.  
Dogs bill, for, 8.  
Ecclesiastical Courts bill, against, 21.  
Governor-general of India, respecting proclamation of, 27.  
Health of Towns bill, against, 1.  
Landlord and tenant (Ireland), for alteration of the law of, 8.  
Maynooth college, for inquiry into, 3.  
Malt tax, for repeal of, 5.  
Medical Charities (Ireland) bill, against, 1.  
for, 2.  
Mines and Collieries act, against repeal of, 30.  
Poor Law (Ireland), for amendment of, 6.  
Property tax, for repeal of, 4.  
Registration act, for repeal of, 4.  
St Asaph and Bangor dioceses, against union of, 27.

## PUBLIC BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

## BILL PRESENTED AND READ A FIRST TIME.

Factories bill.

## BILLS READ A SECOND TIME.

1. Dogs bill.  
2. Pawnbrokers' Trade (Ireland) bill.

## CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE.

1. House of Lords Oaths bill.  
2. Ways and means.—Resolved, That, towards making good the supply granted to her Majesty, the sum of £8,000,000 be granted out of the consolidated fund of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.  
3. Registration of Voters bill.  
4. Sudbury Disfranchisement bill.

## BILLS READ A THIRD TIME AND PASSED.

1. House of Lords Oaths bill.  
2. Punishment of Death bill.

## MOTIONS.

Church of Scotland.—"That this House will immediately resolve itself into a committee, to take into consideration the petition of the commission of the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, and the matters therein contained."—(Mr Fox Maule.) The House divided; ayes 76, noes 211.

Governor-general of India.—"That this House, having regard to the high and important functions of the Governor-general of India, the mixed character of the native population, and the recent measures of the court of Directors for discontinuing any seeming sanction to idolatry in India, is of opinion that the conduct of Lord Ellenborough, in issuing the general orders of 16th November, 1842, and in addressing the letter of the same date to all the chiefs, princes, and people of India, respecting the restoration of the gates of a temple to Somnath, is unwise, indecorous, and reprehensible."—(Mr Vernon Smith.) The House divided; ayes 157, noes 242.

## DEBATES.

Wednesday, March 8th.

## NATURALISATION OF FOREIGNERS BILL.

Mr HURT moved the second reading of his bill for the naturalisation of foreigners. The honourable member gave a brief and succinct history of the various acts relating to this subject, which had been passed from the earliest periods, and dwelt upon the extreme hardship and injustice of the law as it at



present stood. He ridiculed the idea that these various enactments were necessary precautions and safeguards against them, but he thought that in a committee the bill might be reduced to a shape which might be unobjectionable.

He considered that the measure which he proposed was one likely to produce real practical benefit. Many of the foreigners in this country had been driven from their native lands by political or religious persecutions, and were here employed as workmen or clerks. Indeed, to the refugees from Flanders, France, and other countries, we owed much of the perfection which we had attained in various departments of manufactures. He begged to refer the House to a state paper prepared by Mr McGregor, who said that Holland had always adopted the policy of encouraging foreigners to reside in that country, and that her firm adherence to this fundamental maxim had led many persons to settle there who had benefited the state by instituting and carrying on important trades and manufactures. If this country did not prepare itself for competition by such a measure as that which he now proposed, it must be prepared to encounter the superior manufactures of foreign artisans. It was an undoubted fact, that foreigners excelled us in the manufacture of shawls, dyed muslins, and other articles, and, in one way or another, we must meet their competition. We must either concede our markets to them, or induce them to settle in this country, and learn from them the secrets which gave superiority to their manufactures.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM opposed the measure, which he considered to be quite unnecessary, and declined to follow the mover through the details of his speech. He thought the people of this country had a fair right to expect that the members of their legislature should be natives of their land, and partakers of their language, their sentiments, and their habits. He moved, as an amendment, that the bill be read a second time that day six months.

Mr AGLIONBY opposed, and Mr SMYTHE, Mr EWART, Capt. PECELL, and Mr LABOUCHERE, supported the second reading, though they would not pledge themselves to all its details. Sir J. Graham's amendment was then carried without a division.

#### CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The adjourned debate on Mr Fox Maule's motion, for inquiry into the claims of the church of Scotland, was resumed by Mr CUMMING BRUCE. He was persuaded that the concession of the claims now made on behalf of the Scotch church would reduce that church from what it had been for 150 years, an inestimable good, to a great evil. He wished the English and Irish members to act as umpires in this important dispute; and he begged them to take notice of a party, the existence of which had been unnamed in this debate—that moderate and constitutional class of the Scotch clergy who were desirous to see law maintained and extremes avoided. He himself would never object to the jurisdiction of the church in spiritual matters; but he did object to her claim of an exclusive right to decide what matters were spiritual. He condemned the agitation which had been got up respecting this matter. He believed it to be originally and essentially a clerical one. When the clergy saw the voluntary principle advancing, they thought that by getting rid of patronage, and placing the nomination with the people, they should unite the popularity of the voluntary system with the advantages of a national endowment. The admission of ministers *quoad sacra* to sit in the church courts had greatly facilitated the democratic movement, and the old anti-patronage ministers had not failed to avail themselves of this alliance. The government had been accused of doing nothing to settle the question; but he thought that what the government had shown themselves disposed to do was even more than could be safely adopted. If the church would rescind her veto law, and make the reasonable concessions which had been recommended on the preceding night by her most judicious advocate, there might be some hope of a settlement; but he trusted that the legislature would never consent to a conclusion which would give a legal right of committing injuries without redress, and would release men from the necessary subordination to the law.

Sir GEORGE GREY said, that if heats had desecrated the pulpit and disordered the judgment-seat, the obligation on the legislature to settle the cause of them was only so much the stronger. If he thought it hopeless to find a remedy, he would not vote for a committee, which he should then regard as a mockery, but of that remedy he did not despair. His support would be given to this motion, not from a mere vague respect for the petitioners, but from a conviction in favour of the principle of non-intrusion. On the other point, that of jurisdiction, he felt that there was greater difficulty; and he certainly was not in general desirous of increasing the powers of ecclesiastical courts; but the church of Scotland was now represented as claiming more than she really claimed. He adjured the House to consider the sincere and intense feeling which this subject had excited in Scotland, and the serious consequences which would ensue to the church from the neglect of that feeling.

Mr J. S. WORTLEY considered that if he should consent to a committee on a petition for such objects as were now sought, he should be giving unwarrantable encouragement to an extreme principle and an extreme party. He earnestly besought the government to attempt some measure for the settlement of the jurisdiction. He could not vote for this committee, but he did not know that he should vote against it. What was needful now was, not additional negotiation, but a strong and conciliatory mediator. If the government would act as such a mediator, he did believe that its intervention would be gratefully received, not perhaps by the whole, but by a large majority of the Scottish people.

Sir A. LEITH HAY bore testimony to the great extent to which the pledges of secession had been carried by the ministers and parishioners of Scotland, and assured the House that the excitement of the people had by no means cooled.

Mr COCHRANE thought the constitution of the Scotch church as popular as any rational man could wish, and denounced in no measured terms their encroaching spirit, declaring that, for his own part,

he preferred even the arrogance of Rome to the hypocrisy of the kirk.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL lamented the calamity which seemed to be now impending over the northern part of this island. The Scotch church had been induced by leading men of all parties to suppose that the course taken by her in 1834 was free from blame, and her ministers now proved their sincerity by preparing to secede from the establishment and its endowments, rather than resign their conscientious convictions. He must confess that the speeches of Mr Fox Maule and Mr Rutherford had not, to his mind, cleared this question from its difficulty. They proposed to pass some abstract resolutions in committee; but he did not think the House could usefully deal in mere abstractions; he must look at the law in connexion with the existing state of the country. He understood the principle to be, that the jurisdiction of the church over ecclesiastical and spiritual matters was exclusive only with reference to their spiritual or ecclesiastical character: if they bore also a civil character, the jurisdiction ceased to be exclusive. He then referred back to the history of the church, especially in connection with the Veto act and the law of patronage. He could not understand how the union of church and state could subsist on the principles now advanced—principles which would recognise in each parish one man as the spiritual, and another as the civil minister—the one having the religious influence, the other a temporal sinecure. He had not approved even of Lord Aberdeen's bill; for he regarded it as giving too much power to the congregations. He did not, however, believe that a mere concession of the full claim of the church would now effect a general tranquillisation. He thought that the case was one requiring legislative interference, to prevent the great evils now pending, and preserve to the church the many learned and pious men whom the strict enforcement of the present law would alienate. Still, as the difficulty had existed during his own tenure of office, and had baffled all the consideration of the late ministry, he did not think himself justified in now making any motion or amendment which might embarrass his successors.

Mr CAMPBELL (Monzie) exhorted the government not to lose the present opportunity of settling the question. The Solicitor-general looked at the question in connexion with the facts which had occurred in Scotland. The claim now set up was that the Assembly had the sole right to determine what matters are spiritual, allowing to the civil courts the sole right to determine what matters are civil; and this without appeal to any authority whatsoever. He could not think, with Mr Rutherford, that this was the law of Scotland, or of any civilised country; and to this effect he cited a judgment of a Scotch judge. Then the legislature was asked to define the boundaries; but he confessed himself unable to see the practicability of any such definition. With respect to the question of patronage, he would not despair of the possibility of finding some mode in which it might be settled; but he could not give his sanction to the mode of settling it which was now proposed.

Sir ROBERT PEEL believed the crisis to be truly an important one for the interests of religion, for the social state of Scotland, and for the dignity of the law. He saw a church which was constituted by statute at variance with those courts by which statutes are interpreted. To go into committee on this petition, and propose something either at variance with its claims or very far short of them, would be but a mockery: the true question was, whether the House were prepared to assent to those claims; and he desired it might not be understood that because he refused that assent, he therefore refused to legislate at all. There were two questions—patronage and jurisdiction. If he saw any hopes of settling the patronage question, they would be mainly founded on the temper which had marked this discussion on both sides of the house. He must respectfully differ from the view taken of that question by the church of Scotland. Patronage had co-existed with the presbytery from very early times, as appeared not only from statutes, but from declarations of the church herself, as ancient as the sixteenth century. After quoting authorities in support of this proposition, he declared his opinion against popular election in the case of the clergy; and thus, both on precedent and on principle, he opposed the claim of the church as respected patronage. Then, with respect to jurisdiction, he apprehended it to be impossible that any law could be framed which should adequately define the limits between civil and spiritual matters. He adverted to the appeals decided by the House of Lords, and declared his persuasion, that if the sentence of that highest tribunal was to be treated as a nullity, there was no security for the law—nay, no security for civil liberty itself. He would not condemn the mere passing of the Veto act; what he censured was the retention of it after the decision of the House of Lords that it was illegal. The early history of England, down to the reign of Henry VIII., clearly showed the impracticability of any definition of the limits between the civil and the ecclesiastical jurisdictions.

Why, take the case of the Roman catholic religion—or the dissenters. The latter are no doubt quite entitled, as a voluntary church, to decide with reference to their own affairs; but if a church chooses to participate in the advantages appertaining to an establishment—that church, whether it be the church of England, the church of Rome, or the church of Scotland—that church must conform itself to the law. It would be an anomaly—it would be an absurdity, that a church should possess the privilege, and enjoy the advantages of connexion with the state; and, nevertheless, claim exemption from the obligations which, wherever there is an authority, must of necessity exist; and this House and the country never could lay it down that if a dispute should arise in respect of the statute law of the land, such dispute should be referred to a tribunal not subject to an appeal to the House of Lords.

He would, therefore, refuse his consent to this

motion; but he would make no declaration which would tie up the government from attempting a settlement when the circumstances of the time should allow.

Should her Majesty's government think it necessary to legislate on this question, their measure would be based on the view developed in the communication made by my right hon. friend near me. I wish most earnestly that the impediments to the Veto act were removed, but I do not see at present any prospect of making a satisfactory settlement of that question. My belief is, that there is abroad, both in this country, in Scotland, and in other countries, after a long series of religious contentions and neglect of the duties of religion, a spirit founded upon just views in connexion with these subjects. But I hope that in effecting this object an attempt will not be made to establish a spiritual or ecclesiastical supremacy above the other tribunals of the country; and that, in conjunction with an increased attention to the duties of religion, the laws of the country will be maintained.

Mr FOX MAULE replied. He first addressed himself to the legal argument of the Solicitor-general on the subject of jurisdiction, and then discussed the principle of the Veto act; which, he said, although it still stood on the statute book of the church, had in practice remained a dead letter, except in the single case of Strathbogie, as to which he defended the conduct of the Assembly.

The House divided—

Against the motion ..... 211  
For it ..... 76

Majority against it ..... 135

Thursday, March 9.

#### THE SOMNAUTH PROCLAMATION.

Mr V. SMITH brought forward his motion of censure on Lord Ellenborough's conduct relative to the gates of Somnauth. He referred back to the events preceding the issue of that proclamation, and the first mention of the gates in a letter to General Nott, wherein he says—

"You will bring away from the tomb of Mahmoud of Ghuznee his club, which hangs over it, and you will bring away the gates of his tomb, which are the gates of the temple of Somnauth. These will be the just trophies of your successful march."

He then examined the several portions of the proclamation and the effects it was likely to produce upon the people of India, more especially the Mahomedan population of that empire. He exhorted the House to judge of Lord Ellenborough's proclamation, not by the small interest produced by any such matters in England, but by the feelings it was calculated excite in India. The credit of the military operations there was due not to the Governor, but to the generals who had exercised a discretion of their own. He admitted Lord Ellenborough's eloquence and power in the house of Lords, but was persuaded that "the dullest dog now moving in the conservative circles" would make a more discreet administrator of India. The proclamation respecting the gates was not a single indiscretion; the proclamation of the 1st of October, 1842, was no less to be censured, introducing, as it did, an unseemly criticism on the preceding Governor's policy, and an injudicious opinion about the limitation of the British empire in India.

Mr E. TENNENT insisted on the importance attached by the native Hindoos to the possession of these gates. Much odium had attached to the proceedings respecting them, through a transcriber's error in designating the temple they belonged to as that of Juggernaut, whereas, in fact, it was the temple of Siva. But Lord Ellenborough had acted without the slightest view to any religious object, and with reference only to civil and military considerations. In considering the phraseology of this document, some regard should be had to what was usual in point of style among the people addressed; in illustration of which, he quoted a few flourishes of oriental eloquence from the state papers of some native princes, especially an address of thanks from Runjeet Singh to the British minister for a present of some dray horses to the following effect:—

"At a moment when the balmy zephyrs of spring were blowing from the garden of friendship, and wafting to my senses the grateful perfume of its flowers, your Excellency's epistle—every letter of which is a new-blown rose on the branch of regard, and every word a blooming fruit on the tree of esteem—was delivered to me by Mr Burnes and Mr John Leckie, who were appointed to convey to me some horses of superior quality, of singular beauty, of alpine form, and elephantine stature, admirable even in their own country, which had been sent as a present to me by his Majesty the King of Great Britain, together with a large and elegant carriage."

"These presents, owing to the care of the above gentlemen have arrived by way of the river Sind, in perfect safety, and have been delivered to me, together with your Excellency's letter, which breathes the spirit of friendship, by that nightingale of the garden of eloquence, that bird of the winged words of sweet discourse, Mr Burnes (great laughter), and the receipt of them has caused a thousand emotions of pleasure and delight to arise in my breast."

"By the favour of Sri Akal Poorukh Jee there are in my stables valuable and high-bred horses from the different districts of Hindostan, from Turkistan, and Persia, but none of them will bear comparison with those presented to me by the King through your Excellency; for these animals in beauty, stature, and disposition surpass the horses of every city and every country in the world. On beholding their shoes the new moon turned pale with envy [great laughter], and nearly disappeared from the sky. Such horses the eye of the sun has never before beheld in his course through the universe. Unable to bestow upon them in writing the praises that they merit, I am compelled to throw the reins on the neck of the steed of description and relinquish the pursuit."

If there was reason to fear excitement among the Mussulmans from the restoration of these gates, what must have been the feeling of that population, when they saw the British government, under the late Governor-general, dethrone a monarch of their own faith? The real end of this motion was to cover the disastrous policy of Lord Auckland, by an attack on the happier government of his successor. One single proclamation was found of which the style was unacceptable to fastidious tastes, and on that question of criticism the mover sought to fix the whole attention of the House, forgetting the services of Lord Ellenborough, his anxieties, his exertions, and his success.

Mr MACAULAY, in reference to a suggestion made by Mr E. Tennent, that this attack was somewhat unfair in the absence of the party impeached, expressed his opinion that Lord Ellenborough, who had



dealt so harshly with the character of his predecessor, Lord Auckland, was the last man entitled to the benefit of a plea of absence. This subject raised many serious and many ludicrous thoughts; and first, of the serious—he would not lend himself to a fanatical cry, but he could not forget that our Indian empire now embraced the largest heathen population ever subjected to Christian rule. Nowhere had idolatry and superstition exhibited themselves in a form so injurious, even to the temporal interests of mankind. It was a most difficult problem to find the best mode of dealing with such a religion, a religion not only involving the grossest errors in politics and physics, but inculcating prostitution, suicide, robbery, and murder. For some time the Christian rulers had done, in his judgment, but too much in the way of countenance to all these horrors.

He was inclined to think that the idolatrous practices of the natives had been made a means of bringing in revenue [hear, hear]. We had long looked with exceedingly great jealousy upon the missionaries who settled in India, and had treated them with a severity which their conduct never in the slightest degree deserved. We had tolerated long human sacrifices and the practice of the suttee, which he conceived we might have put down without the slightest departure from the principle of toleration, because he had ever held that no principle of toleration should induce us to traffic in the lives of our fellow creatures [hear, hear]. We even assisted in idolatrous practices by sending our troops to escort the natives to their places of religious resort, which they looked upon as kind marks in favour of their religion.

But in later days that countenance had been abated, and much had been attempted for the abolition of some of the practices most shocking to humanity. Orders had been issued to the British government expressly enjoining a strict neutrality on every subject connected with the temples of the idols; but Lord Ellenborough had violated those orders, and departed from that neutrality, in sending presents to and conferring other honours on those temples. In this very proclamation he evinced his intention to restore the temple of Somnauth.

"It was clear that Lord Ellenborough had asked in what state the temple was. It was clear that he had been informed that it was in ruins; and then," said his lordship, "we will replace and restore it." Could it be said that the restoration of the temple was not to be a preliminary step to the setting up of the gates [hear, hear]? Lord Ellenborough said, "In that restored temple we will place the gates." He defied all human ingenuity to get rid of that dilemma. It was impossible to clear away this "homage to idols." Twist it as you might, and it would still be like the stain upon the key in the story of "Blue Beard" [laughter].

Now, did ministers mean to let their governor-general act upon his own proclamation? Was he to govern upon Brahminical principles, and restore the temple with its dancing girls? No doubt they would take care to countermand him; but was it no evil thus to make announcements and abandon them, to be always doing and undoing? Other governors-general might have been hated; but now, for the first time, a governor-general was laughed at. Turgid passages from eastern compositions had been cited; but ought their style to be imitated by a British governor-general? Ought he, because the native princes deck their horses with beads and have black faces, to ride out upon a palfrey so adorned, and paint his own face black? The Indians, whatever their own dress, habits, and style, yet perfectly understood and respected the sobriety of the English in all these particulars. The proclamation, however, in truth, was imitated, not from Indian compositions, but from the trashy manifestos of the French revolutionary generals, who loved to talk nonsense about ancient Rome. He was sure such a document had not been sanctioned by any of the civil servants, by any of those who understood the country and the people; but, indeed, Lord Ellenborough kept those civil servants at such a distance that none of them ever ventured to offer their advice. Really the vast power of an Indian governor-general was not to be trusted to a man who was thus wanting in discretion of his own, and thus unwilling to profit by the discretion of others. If the East India directors thought they ought not to recall him, at least let them order him to go back to Calcutta, where his council was resident; he would then be obliged at least to hear advice, though he would not be compelled to follow it.

Mr Hogg admitted that a governor ought not to be absent from his council. It was at a distance from the council that Lord Auckland had taken those measures which had been attended with results so fatal. This was a plain party attack, and it was in vain to try to cloak it under the garb of sanctity. He would not defend the proclamation as a discreet one; and, indeed, the government had intimated to its author some disapprobation of it; but if gentlemen thus persisted in their exaggerated representations, people would soon begin to think that there was really very little to be blamed in it.

Mr MANGLES, though he admitted that Lord Ellenborough had no intention of disparaging Christianity, must yet ask, what confidence could be placed in a man capable of such an indiscretion as this document exhibited—an indiscretion not merely exposed in the Indian newspapers, but acknowledged by the press of all Europe, and even by the conservative party itself everywhere but within the walls of parliament?

Mr ESCOTT asked why, if the opposition thought their case so strong against Lord Ellenborough, they had not had the courage to move for his recall? He showed, by a series of shifted notices and dates, the way in which this subject had been timed, to make it serve as a shield to Lord Auckland.

Mr HUME gave another of Lord Ellenborough's originalisms.

The hon. secretary of the India board (Mr E. Tennent) had stated that the proclamation was not published in English; but there was one proclamation by the Governor-general published in India in the Hindoo, which had been sent all over that country, and was something in the same style. It was the Governor-general's seal. Perhaps it might amuse the House to know what this seal was. He (Mr Hume) had seen a good many governor-general's seals, but never anything equal to this. There were some words in the original which he could not make out, but he had sent for a regular translator of Persian, and he found the terms were as follows:—"The hon. member then read from a

paper which he said began, "The cream of princes [laughter], high in dignity [laughter], privy councillor to her gracious Majesty the Queen of England, whose port resembled the planet Saturn, Edward, Lord Ellenborough [loud laughter], guardian and governor of the provinces in India belonging to England;" and so it went on.

He would have liked this motion better if it had been worded as a motion for a recall, for this was its virtual character, and this was the tendency of all the speeches in its favour. He did not think that this proclamation had any view to religion; but it betrayed great ignorance; for the temple, therein described as a restored temple, had not been restored at all, but had, for a great length of time, been in a state of ruin.

A Hindoo of high caste, now in this country, the Vakeel of the Rajah of Sattara, had written to him a letter, in which he stated, "It appears to me that the restoration of the gates of Somnauth could have no reference either to the support or degradation of any religious faith [hear, hear]. To restore the gates to their original purpose is impracticable by the tenets of the Hindoo religion. Their doctrine is, that anything, when in contact with a dead body, or anything belonging to it, whether tomb or garment, is utterly contaminated and unfit for religious purposes. In my opinion, therefore, the proclamation must have been intended to gratify the feelings of the Hindoo portion of our army by removing a stain which the western portion of India had long felt oppressive." In fact, he believed that the Governor-general, by this means, conciliated the feelings of the Hindoo soldiery [cheers from the ministerial benches] in their return from those scenes of death and disaster in which they had behaved so well [loud cheers], and where thousands of their fellow-countrymen had fallen.

This consideration ought to appease the alarm of those who had taken up the subject on religious grounds, and satisfy them that the gates were removed merely as a trophy of conquest. But, looking at the discretion of the Governor in this and other matters, he certainly thought it would be proper to recall him, and prevent him from exposing himself any further.

Mr WYNN, formerly president of the India board, next addressed the House, which, on account of an infirmity in his feet, he was permitted to do in a sitting posture. He considered the information furnished by Mr Hume to be conclusive upon the question. He could not help looking at India as it now was, and contrasting it with India as Lord Ellenborough had found it.

Mr PLUMPTRE could not divest his mind of the impression that this was a religious question. It certainly bore the appearance of being so. It was so understood, and painfully too, in this country; and under that impression he must vote for this motion.

Sir G. GREY asserted the question upon this proclamation to be a religious one. So thought the Christian people of England; and they expected from their government at least neutrality on this important subject. It appeared from a letter of Lord Ellenborough, cited in another place, not only that the question of religion had been present to the noble Governor's mind, but that he had written the document three times over, and had complacently persuaded himself that his final draught was one to which Sir R. Inglis himself would not object. It was somewhat strange for a governor thus to refer to the probable opinions of an individual, however highly to be respected; but it appeared that Lord Ellenborough had here taken a very erroneous measure of the opinions of the member for Oxford. He was sure that this House would greatly disappoint the religious feelings of the people, if it did not censure that proclamation in some such language as this motion proposed.

Lord STANLEY gave full credit to both the preceding speakers for sincerity of Christian feeling; but he thought they were following somewhat blindly in the wake of those whose objects were not religious, but political, and who were now mustered in more than usual numbers on the opposite benches. Why did no man move the recall of the Governor-general, or a censure on the government who refused to call him? Oh, no; these were proposals which gentlemen did not dare to bring forward. They had thanked Lord Ellenborough for the judgment he had exercised in the great transactions in the war; they could not withhold those thanks, nor contest that policy; but they selected a little point in a single proclamation, because they thought that there they could enlist the religious prejudices of particular individuals. He was not the advocate of the taste and style of the proclamation: he admitted that its being addressed to eastern people was not a sufficient justification of its phraseology; and he believed that the respect of the natives would have been best insured by the Governor in preserving his own natural strain of language; but he denied that the proclamation had any view to encourage a heathen religion; it treated these spoils as military trophies only, and the very declaration which the Governor had made in connexion with the name of Sir R. Inglis was conclusive proof that at least he intended no slight to religion. He concluded with a glowing panegyric on the services of Lord Ellenborough.

Lord PALMERSTON declared that he and his friends were ready to defend their own policy in India; but that this was not the subject now before the House. He had told the present ministers that they must not recall the troops from Afghanistan; they had felt the truth of his advice; their generals had acted on his policy, and had succeeded by it. Much was said about merits; the Governor's merit had been, that he had allowed the generals to use their own discretion. To be sure, he had been useful in collecting camels, and so on; but, then, for that he had been thanked, and if he was thanked for the little that was good, surely it was just to censure him for the much that was bad. The fact of his having written a state paper thrice over and succeeded so ill in it at last, was in itself an argument of his unfitness for government. If he knew that his paper was of a nature likely, unless carefully guarded, to give an offence in England, did he not also know that it was likely to give offence among the Mahomedans of India? It was essential that the House should take notice of

this proclamation. It would be a want of courage to abstain from expressing an opinion which everybody entertained. He did not believe that the effect of such a censure would be to recall Lord Ellenborough; but even if it should, that noble person would be less dangerous to his country in the house of Lords than at Calcutta.

Sir R. PEEL said, that what had passed to-night must have fully dissipated the suspicions of those who had imagined the government to have made a compromise with the opposition on the subject of Mr Roebuck's late motion. Another time, however, he would leave Lord Palmerston to fight, or avoid fighting, his own battle.

The noble lord says, "Dispose of this motion, and then we will come forward and challenge inquiry into the general conduct and policy of Lord Ellenborough." I remember very well, when in Ireland many years ago, hearing of rather a strange occurrence which took place in the court of Common Pleas in that country. During the progress of a case which occupied the attention of the court—the late Lord Norbury was on the bench—two learned counsel, differing very much from the general character of their countrymen, which is one of kindness and urbanity, continued abusing each other after a very violent fashion for a considerable time, evidently looking to and expecting the interference of the judge. "Gentlemen," said Lord Norbury, "take care—be upon your guard; the court will not interfere!" [loud laughter]. From that moment the two combatants ceased to abuse each other [continued laughter]. I told the noble lord to take care [hear, hear]—I tell the noble lord to take care. I will not interfere [cheers]. If the noble lord complains of the injustice of being subjected to suspicion without having the opportunity of vindicating himself, I tell the noble lord that I will retire from the House, having already rendered him assistance more powerful than even that afforded him by his friend Schah Soojah.

Sir R. Peel then read some correspondence, showing that at the time when Lord Palmerston was taunting the government with cowardice in contemplating retreat, Lord Palmerston's own governor, Lord Auckland, had been shaping his course, with a view to "retire with the least possible discredit!"

—Opimus

Fallere et effugere est triumphus!"

Lord Auckland's letter, renouncing the intention of defending Jellalabad, was written but one week before the arrival of Lord Ellenborough. It was urged, that general merits were not to be pleaded as a defence to an individual charge. Was that the view of the late government, in respect of Lord Durham's ordinances for Canada? On the contrary, his general merits had been expressly set up by that government as his sufficient apology. Let the same benefit be given to Lord Ellenborough, arriving in India, as he did, amidst the general and confounding depression and insecurity of the British power in those regions. Sir R. Peel here enumerated the successive disasters, of which the tidings were then daily flowing in upon the Governor-general, and eulogised the courage with which he met those difficulties. But it was necessary for him to abandon Afghanistan—it was important to him to do so without dispiriting the Hindoos, and therefore it was that he had been anxious to secure, for the sake of their national feelings, that military, not religious, trophy, to which they attached the highest value. In conclusion, Sir R. Peel inveighed powerfully against the party spirit which animated the present motion, and warned the House that such a vote as this would strike a heavier blow at the British prosperity in India than any of our past disasters.

Lord J. RUSSELL entered into a defence of Lord Auckland's general policy, but confessed himself convinced, after his perusal of the published papers, that the abandonment of Afghanistan was a wise measure. He was not desirous to deny to Lord Ellenborough such praise as properly belonged to him; but he could not consent to deck him with laurels unjustly wrested from the generals, from those able men who had in reality decided the policy of the campaign, and restored the spirit of the troops. Lord Ellenborough had given orders of such a character, that, if the generals advanced and succeeded, he might share the credit; while if they failed, either advancing or retreating, he avoided the blame. But all this was a question separate from that which the House had now before it, and which related only to the proclamation. That document showed in many of its passages a sort of inflation, which looked as if Lord Ellenborough had been flushed by success into a notion that he was become a permanent and sovereign prince. In referring to the last paragraph of the proclamation, and the singular blessings Providence had granted this nation, he remarked—

In the west there had been remarkable revolutions; nothing ever struck him as being more dreadful than the kidnapping of the Africans, the conveying them across the ocean in slave ships, and planting them in the West Indies. A great change, however, was working amongst these Africans by the zeal of religious men, and hereafter they might be the instruments of diffusing civilisation over that large continent, which had been for centuries deformed by bloodshed and superstition.

A man who could indulge such arrogance and foolish vanity, was not a fit person to superintend the great destinies with which England was entrusted in the East.

The House then divided,

Against the motion . . . . .	242
For it . . . . .	157

Majority against it . . . . . 85

Saturday, March 11.

ECCLIESIATICAL COURTS BILL.

In consequence of there being no House on Friday night, the House met on Saturday. The only topic of discussion was the Ecclesiastical Courts bill, which was to have been read a second time on the previous evening. Several members expressed their displeasure at no House having been formed, and especially at the discussion being taken when the legal members of the House were on circuit. Mr JERVIS, Colonel SIBTHORP, Mr C. BULLER, Mr ESCOTT, and Mr R. YORKE all expressed their desire that the subject should be postponed till after the circuit. Colonel SIBTHORP, seemed especially wroth. He was strenuous to oppose both bills, and, much as he hated railroads, he had hastened by an engine train, at the



risk of his neck, to be in his place on Friday. He wished to know why the ministers, who used constantly to be finding fault with whig postponements, had not themselves been present on Friday, and where they had been spending their time? for their time belonged to the public, who paid them its money, and who had a right to see that they were not spending that time and that money in improper places and improper ways. He called for an explicit declaration, as to the period at which this most greedy Doctors' Commons bill was to be brought forward. After some further conversation Mr Jervis moved that the bill should be taken on the 7th of April. Sir J. GRAHAM represented the impracticability of so arranging the business of the House as always to afford an opportunity for the presence of the legal members on legal questions. He, however, finally agreed to such a postponement of the discussion upon it as would give an opportunity for the return of the legal members in general from the circuits. With this arrangement all parties appeared to be satisfied, and the House adjourned.

Monday, March 13.

TRIALS AT LANCASTER.

Mr M. GIBSON put a question to Sir James Graham respecting attempts, at the late chartist trials at Lancaster, to drag in parties who had taken an active part in opposition to the corn laws, and had supported the Anti-corn-law League, with a view to create an impression that they were the originators of the disturbances in the manufacturing districts. One of the witnesses called by the Attorney-general, James Wilcox, had stated some very unimportant facts; but he was cross-examined by one of the defendants, Mr Feargus O'Connor, who endeavoured to draw from him a statement inculcating the Anti-corn-law League. Wilcox stated that, previous to the trial, he had made a communication to the Secretary for the home department by letter, and he wished to know if there would be any objection to the production of that letter, or any other correspondence between the Home Secretary and Wilcox. It seemed extraordinary that the right hon. baronet, who had been subpoenaed by Mr O'Connor for his defence, had been permitted to quit the assize town, and that Wilcox, who was a witness for the prosecution, should be examined in his stead. Sir J. GRAHAM said he had searched the public records of his office, as well as his private correspondence, and had not been able to find any trace of such a letter, or of an answer to it; and this he accounted for from the circumstance that about the time he had received numerous communications by letter from the disturbed districts, and it was his habit to send all letters relating to these transactions to the solicitor for the prosecution. He had not yet had an opportunity of communicating with that attorney. The ATTORNEY-GENERAL having explained how the witness, Wilcox, had been substituted for the Home Secretary, stated that in these prosecutions he had endeavoured to confine the evidence strictly to the parties accused, and the hon. member for Manchester would find that, systematically, cautiously, and religiously, he had excluded all matters of evidence relating to absent persons. Mr MILNER GIBSON admitted that the Attorney-general had exerted himself on some occasions to prevent witnesses from criminating those who were not before the court: still, he said, attempts were made during the trial of so marked a character that the learned judge objected to it. Mr GIBSON was about to proceed, when he was interrupted by cries of "order," and "spoke."

HALIFAX BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

Mr FERRAND called the attention of the House to the proceedings of the board of Guardians of the Halifax union, who, on the 1st of March instant, had passed a vote of censure on him for his conduct in the house of Commons respecting the poor law, Mr Clements, one of the assistant-commissioners, being present. He complained also of a machine for grinding rags which was put up in that union, to be worked by hand. There had also been lately put up, in Lambeth workhouse, another mill, the crank of which was so large, that once in each of its revolutions the persons working it were obliged to bend themselves down to the ground. When he had stated on a former night the nature of the mill at Halifax, Sir James Graham had denied his statement, in terms not very civil from a member of the government to one of its supporters. He now moved for certain returns of proceedings taken at the board of guardians. Mr WALTER seconded the motion. Sir JAMES GRAHAM said, that as he had had no opportunity of inquiring into the suggestion respecting the Lambeth workhouse, he would abstain from any observation upon that point. But as to the Halifax case, he must say that what he had denied, in opposition to Mr Ferrand, was the existence of a tread-mill at the Halifax union. The mill there was, in fact, as he had stated it to be, a hand-mill; and though certainly it was not, as he had supposed, for the grinding of rags, he apprehended this made no substantial difference. After some further conversation, the gallery was cleared for a division; but Mr Ferrand withdrew his motion.

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS BILL.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer having taken a grant of £8,000,000 out of the consolidated funds, Sir JAMES GRAHAM moved the order of the day for the committee on the bill for the registration of voters. Mr HUME thought no good would be done on this subject, until parliament should establish vote by ballot, and registration by a small number of judges superior to the revising barristers.

The House having gone into committee, Mr CHRISTIE suggested that the commissioners intended for the new scheme of county courts might be usefully employed in the business of the registration. He wished the registration to take place oftener than

once a year. Sir J. GRAHAM was persuaded that to make registrations more frequent would be to make turmoil perennial.

The committee then proceeded to discuss the bill clause by clause.

On the details of clauses 6 and 7, respecting powers of objection by overseers and by voters, some discussions of a technical nature arose, which were followed by divisions. Mr ELPHINSTONE proposed to omit the 11th section, with a view to introduce another which would abolish the tax and rate-paying clauses of the Reform bill. He described the present effect of those clauses to be that of producing in all the smaller boroughs extensive bribery, the practice being for the poorer voters to require of the candidate's agent, on the 19th of July, that he shall either pay their rates for them, or submit to their going off the register. Sir J. GRAHAM would object to the abolition of the tax and rate-paying clauses. The house tax had been repealed; this bill introduced several other relaxations, and now the House was asked to go still further, and exempt the voters wholly from this test of responsibility. Had it not been for these clauses, the authors of the Reform bill would have based it on a higher qualification than £10. The present was not the strictly regular time for dividing upon this question; but yet, in order to dispose of it definitively, he would consent to take a vote upon it now. Mr BROTHERTON supported Mr Elphinstone's proposal. The only objection made to it was, that it would extend the franchise. Mr HUME said he had opposed the rate and tax paying clauses when first introduced into the Reform bill. He objected to them then, and now, both as tending to bribery and as narrowing the franchise, which ought, in his opinion, to be possessed by every male adult of 21. Mr EWART said, that as the house tax had been removed, it was not worth while, for the sake of the still remaining assessment, to keep up conditions which produced so much bribery and discontent. The committee divided, rejecting Mr Elphinstone's alteration, by a majority of 118 to 58.

The clauses respecting the appointment of revising barristers gave rise to some conversation, in the course of which Sir JAMES GRAHAM acquainted the committee that the number of these judges had been reduced by one-half, and the cost by 13,000*l.* or 14,000*l.* Sir G. GREY would have preferred a small number of from 10 to 20, who would have been content to hold their situations permanently. Sir J. GRAHAM answered, that under such a revision it would have been impracticable to accomplish the registration simultaneously. Mr CRIPPS gave great credit to the revising barristers for the consistency and impartiality which they have exhibited. A discussion was raised by Mr HINDLEY whether a standing of three years were not too short to qualify a barrister for the duty of revision. Mr HARDY observed that barristers were frequently men who had practised from five to ten years under the bar as special pleaders, and thus acquired an extensive knowledge of the law. The ATTORNEY-GENERAL thought it better to make a selection from the rising young men of the bar, than to take older barristers who had failed of obtaining business enough to occupy them otherwise.

A good deal of discussion took place on the 45th clause, enabling the barristers to give costs in certain cases to parties claiming or objecting; and on the question whether the maximum of those costs should be 20*s.*, 3*l.*, or 5*l.*, the committee divided, affirming the maximum of 20*s.*, as proposed in the bill.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Factories Bill.—The following are the chief provisions of Sir JAMES GRAHAM's bill for regulating the employment of children and young persons in factories.

The hours of labour for children are to be reduced from eight to six and a half hours a day; the whole to be performed in the forenoon or afternoon. The minimum age of children to be lowered from nine to eight years. At present, the worktime of "young persons," those above thirteen and under eighteen, is limited to twelve hours; the maximum age of female "young persons" will be raised to twenty-one; the time of Saturday will be limited to nine hours. Machinery is to be guarded so as to prevent accidents; and it is to be cleaned while in motion. The power of making up for lost time where water-power is used will be limited. Qualified surgeons are to be appointed to attend the several mills of a district. And to his former statement respecting the educational provisions he added the particular, that in all the manufacturing districts the children of any parents, whether those children were employed in factories or not, should have the benefits of education at an expense not exceeding threepence per week.

A subsequent bill would be introduced to extend the law to lace factories and children employed in printing.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, March 9th.

THE SOMNAUTH PROCLAMATION.

The Marquis of CLANICARDE brought forward his motion on this subject to the same tenor as the resolution moved by Mr V. Smith in the house of Commons. He used pretty nearly the same arguments in support of his motion that were advanced in "another place," and which are elsewhere reported. He stated that Lord Ellenborough was so proud of it that he sent translated copies to Paris, that it might be known throughout all Europe as well as Asia.

The Duke of WELLINGTON said he should have been better satisfied with the resolution of the noble marquis, had he not combined in that resolution two papers relating to totally distinct subjects. The noble marquis had not proved the existence of any similarity of character between the two documents; and therefore was not justified in making his own resolution of a cumulative character. His Grace acquitted the noble lord, the late Governor-general,

of all blame, but could not extend his verdict to those who had acted under him. He attributed much of the error to the gentleman who first fell a victim to his own want of judgment. With reference to the Somnauth proclamation, "a song of triumph," as he described it, he called attention to the unsatisfactory spirit then prevailing in the army, which the issuing of this document, and the distribution of honours and rewards was intended to remove, and showed by the order for forming the detachment to take the charge of the gates, and which excepted neither Moslem, Christian, nor Hindoo, that their removal had nothing in it to excite the religious feelings of any class. He knew well the sentiments of the Indian army. They had no such scruples as those ascribed to them; their discipline and military spirit were opposed to all religious distinctions; and in carrying off the gates, they must all have felt that they bore with them a trophy from Afghanistan. He deprecated in strong terms the evils occasioned by the "licentious press" of India, and the danger which the discussion of such motions as the present might excite in that country; and then addressed himself to the charge against Lord Ellenborough of encouraging idolatry, which he contended was sufficiently refuted by the general tenor of his lordship's conduct, and particularly by an address to the clergy, recommending a solemn thanksgiving, which, in the absence of any superior ecclesiastical authority, the Governor-general had issued. The noble duke concluded by stigmatising the resolutions as "unfair," and pressing their lordships to reject them.

Lord AUCKLAND exculpated Sir W. Macnaghten from any blame which might attach to the military operations of the campaign.

Lords COLCHESTER, FITZGERALD, and BROUGHAM defended the proclamation; the latter with especial vehemence and caustic irony, with which, however, he was not so far carried away as to forget enacting the character he has so lately and unbecomingly assumed; and even surpassing his former feats. Of the Duke of Wellington's speech he said—

Now, my lords, to advert to this longer were impossible, after having heard the admirable, the unanswerable address of the noble duke—a speech I do not hesitate to characterise as truly memorable, in which an illustrious commander, with a precision and clearness no one so strikingly displays as himself, and unequalled among the professed masters of the art of oratory—united with a wisdom giving weight and authority to all he says. I say, my lords, after hearing the speech in which that noble duke discussed the mingled military and political questions involved in this subject, connected as it is, too, with a country in which he himself began his course, not only as a soldier, but as a statesman, as let any one who has read his wonderful despatches testify—founding as they do a fame far loftier even than the triumphs of the warrior—after, my lords, hearing that speech, it were impossible even for ignorance and inexperience to be incompetent to see the truth on this matter with a clearness which subtlety and sophistry cannot obscure. But if the noble lords here—reveling in defeat, surfeited with discomfiture, intoxicated with failure—if the noble lords behind me know not when they have had enough, if they desire a contest upon some other issue, let them give notice of their intention to have another day of it; and from whatever field they select for their third attack—unsatisfied with the two former—I will warrant they will retire with heavier discouragement than even now has overwhelmed them [laughter and cheers.]

The Earl of CLARENDON and Lord LANSDOWNE were the principal supporters of the motion. Three bishops spoke; the Bishop of LLANDAFF did not believe that Lord Ellenborough meant to cast any slur on religion; the Bishop of NORWICH thought the Somnauth proclamation injurious to religion, and on that consideration only would support the resolution; the Bishop of CHICHESTER regarded the proclamation as a simple error in judgment. On a division at a quarter to twelve o'clock the motion was negatived by 83 to 25.

Monday, March 13th.

PLEA OF INSANITY.

Pursuant to notice the Lord CHANCELLOR drew attention to the state of the law relating to persons committing crimes under the influence of insanity. He reviewed the proceedings in the case of M'Naughten, and said that it was impossible for the jury to have come to any other verdict, though he would have preferred that the trial had not been abruptly terminated. As to the law itself, it was the same which had always prevailed, not only in England and Scotland, but in France, Germany, and other countries, and which was based on the law of humanity. He did not think that any alteration of the law was necessary, and all he considered requisite was a more effective measure of precaution. A bill of this nature would be ready in a few days; though, looking at the nature and latent character of the disease, he did not anticipate that it would prove absolutely effectual. Such occurrences occasionally happened, not only in this but in other countries, and, he feared, would occur hereafter, in spite of all precaution, though he hoped the forthcoming bill would prove some check upon their repetition in this country. He recommended the House to take the united opinions of the judges upon the general law bearing upon the case.

Lord BROUGHAM argued that all that was required was whether the individual knew that he was doing wrong, or, in other words, violating the law. Judges should direct juries to ascertain whether or not persons like M'Naughten knew that they were committing a breach of the law; and if they were capable of comprehending that fact, and cognisant of it at the time of committing the crime, that then they should be liable to punishment. He complained of the premature conclusion of the trial, and expressed regret that it had not proceeded to its natural and legitimate termination; that every witness had not been called; that the Solicitor-general had not replied; and that the judge had not summed up the evidence at length. He then referred to various criminal cases.

Some men thought it right to kill certain persons; Bellingham, up to the moment of his execution, thought he had done right in shooting Mr Percival. Many a man would think it right to shoot another of whom he entertained any suspicious or jealous sentiments. But surely, this was not the test the judges intended. What they



meant by consciousness of right and wrong, was the consciousness that particular acts were crimes punishable by law. Why then did they not say so? Why should it not be understood at once generally that the consciousness of right meant the consciousness of what was right according to law; and of wrong, of what was punishable by law? If the law was not so—if he (Lord Brougham) had misunderstood the learned judges—if they meant by right or wrong what any man by the idiosyncrasy of his own nature might deem right or wrong—then he agreed with the Lord Chancellor that it would be best to call the judges before their lordships, not only to answer the question what was meant by right and wrong, but to answer five or six other questions.

The noble lord, after stating on his own authority that M'Naughten had been four or five times to Sir R. Peel's house to ascertain his person, that he meant to kill Sir R. Peel, and that he twice prepared to fire at him (facts which nowhere appear in the reports of the trial), said, that he differed from persons who, like the Archbishop of Dublin, thought that the rationality evinced in these proceedings made him obnoxious to punishment; for that he (Lord Brougham) should take into his consideration the state of the man's mind at the time he committed the deed; and if at that time the man did not know that the deed was punishable by law, he should conceive this ignorance a test of insanity.

Lord CAMPBELL concurred with Lord Brougham's remarks on M'Naughten's trial. He expressed his wish that the law was more authoritatively declared upon the subject, and his delight that the Lord Chancellor had suggested the propriety of calling in the judges. After denouncing the theories on the subject of "homicidal propensities" and "homicidal monomania," with which modern medical books teem, he concluded by suggesting the propriety that persons acquitted on the ground of insanity should be kept out of public view ever afterwards, to deter others from following their example.

The LORD CHANCELLOR remarked, that the consideration of the government had been directed to the subject of the prevention of such individuals as Oxford, Francis, &c., from being made public spectacles; but that there was no necessity for legislating on it, as her Majesty already had the power of placing them under restraint. He would take the earliest opportunity, if their lordships desired it, of summoning the judges to give their opinions on the whole question.

POST-OFFICE ROBBERIES.—In proportion as political interest increases in consequence of the debates in parliament, so in proportion do the cases of plunder of newspapers become multiplied. From the heads of the department here we can expect no redress, for they invariably either palliate or pardon the acts of their subordinates, totally regardless of private rights or public convenience.—*Dublin paper.*

PROTECTION TO ENGLISH LITERATURE UNDER THE NEW COPYRIGHT AND CUSTOMS ACT.—The important notification made below cannot be too widely made known. We rejoice that something like a practical advantage is at last achieved for the sorely-treated interests of literature. Those who visit the continent, or purchase at home foreign editions of English books, should be made aware, that the law, after the 1st of April next, will totally prohibit the importation, under any pretext whatever, of such editions. A meeting of the principal publishers was held, on the 3rd of March, at Messrs Longman and Co.'s, when a form of the notice to be given to H. M. Commissioners of Customs of existing copyrights, as required by the act, was agreed upon. It is most desirable all authors and publishers should co-operate in giving effect to the provisions of the act, and that the notices should be delivered to the Commissioners of Customs before the 18th of this month, as the act comes into full operation on the 1st day of April next. They will not have the advantages of this protection if they do not give the notice required by the act.—*Times.*

CUSTOM-HOUSE FRAUDS.—The commission of inquiry has not yet made either its general report or the private reports on the cases of individuals who had appealed to the Treasury against the decision of the Board of Customs, and whose memorials had been referred by the Treasury to the commission of inquiry. Meanwhile a committee of the Board of Customs is actively engaged in a practical inquiry into the working of the whole system under which the frauds had grown up, and such salutary rules are issued from time to time as are best calculated to prevent the recurrence of them. We may here state that Messrs Dabbs and Bond, landing waiters, the former acting as landing surveyor, have been placed under suspension. It is right, however, to add, that neither of these officers has been charged with participation in the frauds.—*Observer.*

COMMUNICATION BETWEEN LONDON AND DUBLIN.—A numerous meeting of members of both Houses of parliament interested in the subject was held on Saturday, at the residence of the Earl of Wicklow, Cavendish square, for the purpose of considering the best mode of facilitating the communication between London and Dublin; when, on the motion of Lord Montagu, it was unanimously agreed that the Earl of Wicklow should be requested to wait on Sir Robert Peel, to represent to him the great public importance of a more direct and speedy communication between London and Dublin, and desiring to know how far the government were disposed to aid in promoting the object, and thus carrying out the report of the select committee, which sat in the last session of parliament, on the post-office communication with Ireland.

INSANITY.—It appears that, within the last twenty years, the cases of the above dreadful malady have more than tripled. The total number of lunatics and

idiots in England is as follows:—lunatics, 6,806; idiots, 5,841; together, 12,547; but allowing for defective returns the number may be taken at 14,000—an average of one to every thousand of the population. In Wales, lunatics, 133; idiots, 763; total, 896; and, adding for parishes that have made no returns, they may be set down at a thousand—a proportion of one to eight hundred. Scotland has 3,653 insane persons, or one to about seven hundred. In Ireland the number of lunatics and idiots exceeds 8,000. In one thousand male patients, insanity has been supposed by an eminent authority to be traceable to the following causes relatively:—drunkenness, 110; consequences of disease, 100; epilepsy, 78; ambition, 73; excessive labour, 73; born idiots, 71; misfortunes, 69; old age, 69; chagrin, 54; love, 47; accidents, 39; religious enthusiasm, 29; political events, 26; poisonous effluvia, 17; ill usage, 12; crimes, remorse, and despair, 9; pretended insanity, 5; mal-conformation of the skull, 4; other and unknown causes, 115.—*Chronicle Correspondent.*

TARTAR OF THE TEETH.—M. La Baume ascertained that washing the teeth with vinegar and a brush will in a few days remove the tartar; thus obviating the necessity for filing or scraping them, which so often injures the enamel. He recommends the use of powdered charcoal and tincture of rhatany afterwards, which effectually, in his opinion, prevents its formation.—*Medical Times.*

### Postscript.

Wednesday, March 15th, 1843.

#### BURDENS ON LAND.

In the house of Commons last night, Mr. WARD brought forward his motion for a special committee to inquire what peculiar burdens are borne, and what peculiar exemptions enjoyed, by the landed interest. He considered stability to be the great essential of any corn law; and there could be no stability without the ascertainment of the points to which this motion was directed. He did not believe that any peculiar burdens were really borne by the landed classes—on the contrary, he was persuaded that the peculiarity was all on the side of exemption to them; but he had put his motion in its present shape that they might have an opportunity of making out their case if they could. He commented upon and disputed various general propositions in divers speeches of his opponents, particularly denouncing an assertion of Lord Stanley, that the general policy of this country required protection to land. He would admit the necessity for that special protection, if special burdens could be shown; but he denied the existence of any such burdens; for he could not consider as special burdens the cost of buildings and improvements, or the fluctuations of prices, there being in every trade outgoings analogous to these. Nor was the income tax a peculiar burden on the land, nor were the poor rates, the county, highway, and church rates, or the tithes. Thus, he thought he had made out his own case; but how was such a case to be gained by the amendment of which Mr. Banks had given notice, for an examination into the constitution and circumstances of the Anti-corn-law League? The two subjects had no connexion, and Mr. Banks, unless conscious of the unsoundness of his own case, ought to profit by the opportunity now offered to him of establishing it, and second the present motion.

Mr G. BANKES, though about to move an amendment on a subject more interesting to the landed classes than the subject of this motion, was fully prepared to meet the motion itself by a direct negative. To appoint a committee for the purpose now suggested would be peculiarly dangerous at this period of anxiety among the agriculturists, by leading to the apprehension that parliament was about to derange them by still further interference. He then entertained the House with a violent diatribe against the Anti-corn-law League; and referred especially to the impudence of this body in positively visiting the quiet little village in which he resided, and leaving with each family a packet of tracts. He thought the Anti-corn-law League, by their meetings and public excitement, were following in the steps of Lord George Gordon's "down with popery" mobs, which were so dangerous to the public peace.

Mr CORBEN, with great temper, went fully into the question of the wages of the Dorsetshire labourers, and brought further facts to prove the position he had formerly maintained.

Mr Banks had alluded to an intended meeting of the League in Drury lane theatre, and so much were they obliged to him for this advertisement, that if he had a fancy to be present, the Leaguers would take care that he, and any of his friends who had been cheering him, should be accommodated with the very best box in the theatre. What objection was there to this committee? No pressing business now occupied the House. If the agriculturists had thought they had a good case, they would gladly have seized such an opportunity. He hoped no one would think it worth while to defend the Leaguers; a little more of such abuse as had lately been showered upon it would make the League really as powerful as it was described to be. These attempts against it were but like the breakers round a vessel's bow, which proved the progress she was making. People now came 20, 30, 40 miles to hear him when he addressed a public meeting, and that was the way to carry a question.

Mr W. MARTIN showed the large proportion of legacy and probate duty borne by the land. Mr WILLIAMS, on the other hand, pointed out the immunities enjoyed by the landed interest, referring to mortgages, tithes, and the taxes. Mr WODEHOUSE quoted tabular returns in favour of the landed interest, and was followed by Mr COCHRANE, who went somewhat beyond even Mr Banks himself in his attack on the League.

Mr GIBSON hoped the House would not suffer an amendment, attacking men's characters, to be withdrawn without a vote marking their general sense upon it. Much was said of the Anti-corn-law

League; did no corn law leagues exist? Had the country gentlemen never countenanced proposals for robbing the public creditor? Such projects were going on even now. He would not allow that even if the landed interests could prove themselves to labour under special burdens, the corn law must, therefore, be continued; the people were not to starve because burdens might have been unequally divided. Would it be pretended that the precise excess of these burdens could be ascertained? Had the exact measure of that difference been realised in the sliding scale? He complained of the sneering tone taken on the other side against manufacturers, and accused Sir R. Peel of abetting it. He again called on the House to deal distinctly with the amendment and with the motion.

Sir R. PEEL agreed that Mr Ward had a right to a separate vote on his motion. He should first negative, though the forms of the house would make the negation an indirect one, the amendment of Mr Banks, because he thought it an inapplicable amendment, as raised upon this motion, and because he thought it inexpedient to proceed on such a subject as the suppression of these societies by way of abstract resolution. Where the existing law is sufficient the House may address the crown to execute it, though this may imply a censure on the ministers; if, on the other hand, the existing law is defective, the House may proceed by way of legislative remedy. To the original motion he should likewise offer his resistance. He entered into statements defending the landed interest, and proving the utter uselessness of the committee demanded; and he professed his intention of standing by the present corn law unless he could be convinced, which he was not, that the circumstances of the country required a departure from it.

Lord HOWICK wanted to have the balance struck between the burdens on one side and on the other; and if after that the greater weight should be found to press upon the land, he would say, equalise it, but still in some other way than by a corn law.

After a few words from Mr BLACKSTONE, Mr VILLIERS, and Mr WARD, in reply, the House, after rejecting the amendment without a division, divided on the original motion.

Against the original motion	232
For it	133

Majority against it	99
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In the house of Lords last night, Lord MONTAGUE, according to notice, moved "That a select committee be appointed to consider the operation of the act passed last session to amend the laws respecting the importation of corn." His lordship, at great length demonstrated the evils of a sliding scale, as illustrated by the experience of the last 27 years, and pledged himself that if a committee were granted, he would prove all he had advanced. The corn law was no such stable measure that they could afford to refuse an inquiry, for no subject of legislation had been liable to such constant change.

Lord WHARNCLEFFE denied that the distress so extensively prevalent in the country would be in any degree mitigated by the repeal of the corn laws, and attributed it principally to gambling speculations in corn, which the present act had done much to discourage. He discussed the relative advantages of a fixed and a sliding duty, contending that protection was more necessary for the agriculturist than the manufacturer, and that time should be given to test more fairly the operation of the late act. Lord CLARENDON, Earl FITZWILLIAM, and Lord BROUGHAM followed on the one side, the latter defending himself for his conduct with respect to the League, and explaining, that though opposed to a protection, he was not opposed to a revenue duty; and from Lord ASHBURTON, Lord MOUNTCASHEL, and the Duke of RICHMOND, who highly approved the firmness of government in maintaining the present law, and was delighted to hear that there was no present intention of a change, on the other. The motion was rejected by a majority of 200 to 78.

CAMBRIDGE ELECTION.—We find by the *Morning Chronicle* of this morning, that a vacancy has been caused in the representation of this borough, by the resignation of Sir Alexander Grant, and that Mr Fitzroy Kelly, of Ipswich notoriety, has announced himself as a candidate for the vacant seat. We trust the friends of complete suffrage in that borough are on the alert, and will be ready to bring forward a candidate favourable to their principles. Should such a candidate not stand much chance of being returned, the opportunity would be most favourable for calling public attention to the principles of complete suffrage, and especially making them familiar to the electoral constituency of that borough.

ANOTHER MONOMANIAC.—Yesterday afternoon a middle-aged man, named Edward Colley, an iron-monger, residing at 12, Newcastle street, Strand, was brought up before the Bow Street police court, charged with attempting to obtain an entrance to the residence of Sir R. Peel. From the evidence it appeared that he was labouring under some religious delusion—was of a respectable, and formerly a wealthy, family—had manifested every indication of mental unsoundness, and wished to see the Premier, to "suggest a thing or two to him." It was arranged that he should be kept in custody till some arrangement could be made with his friends.

#### CORN MARKET. MARK LANE. THIS DAY.

There is a very small supply of all kinds of corn, but no improvement in price, and business is very slack.



## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Notices to Correspondents are deferred till next week.

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## The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 15, 1843.

### SUMMARY.

THE kirk of Scotland has made her appeal to the House of Commons, and has found, like other bodies who seek favours at the expense of landlords, that landlords are true to their own order. Patronage is patronage, and cannot be surrendered. Scripture may be against it, reason may denounce it, ancient constitutional law may show it to have been a comparatively modern innovation, Lord John Russell may deplore the probable disruption of the church as the heaviest calamity which can befall the people of Scotland, Sir James Graham may be pathetic, and Sir Robert Peel solemn, upon the dangerous crisis to which affairs have evidently come—but, mark you, my masters! not a shred of patronage will be given up. This would be a worse disaster, in the estimation of the governing body, than a thousand disruptions. And so we suppose it will come to an ecclesiastical turn-out. It is evident that the aristocracy are not well acquainted with the sort of customer they have got hold of. They have no faith in enthusiasm. They think the matter will end in violent talk; but if we might, without offence, venture the suggestion, we should say that the man who was recently examined at the Mansion house, touching his intentions to assassinate the Queen and Sir Robert Peel, had in him some of the stuff of which Scotchmen are made. The poet of Caledonia, in his Address to the Forty-five, in 1786, previous to the act anent Scotch distilleries, thus hits off the character of Scotland when put upon her mettle:—

"An' — if ance they pit her till't,  
Her tartan petticoat she'll kilt,  
An' durk an' pistol at her belt,  
She'll tak the streets,  
And rin her whistle to the hilt  
I' th' first she meets."

The maniac proposed to do this literally; the free kirk, of course, will only do it metaphorically. But stern resentment against the government will probably drive her to political extremes which she had never contemplated. The secession clergy will soon become a complete suffrage clergy.

Lord Ellenborough has undergone a kind of examination in both houses. In the house of Lords the Marquis of Clanricarde, and in the house of Commons Mr Vernon Smith, moved a resolution condemning the proclamation which condemned the whigs, and that more noted document which did all honour to the gates of Somnauth. The debate in the house of Peers was remarkable chiefly for the characteristic and somewhat ingenious defence of the Governor-general of India hazarded by the Duke of Wellington, and by the knight-errantry of Lord Brougham, who undertook to prove anything whatever which it might be agreeable to the Duke to affirm. For once, however, the iron Duke was more eloquent, and certainly more persuasive, than the gifted lawyer; who, seemingly aware of the desperate task which he had undertaken, heaped words upon words in most prodigal profusion, and proved nothing but his own fawning and sycophantic admiration of the Commander-in-chief. In the house of Commons the discussion was merely a sharp encounter of the two parties. Accusations and recriminations were bandied backward and forward from one to the other, from which we gather that Afghanistan was to have been abandoned both by the whigs and by the tories; and that the military officers who commanded in that country saved that credit, against the will of both, about which both are now quarrelling for the possession and enjoyment. The proclamation of Lord Ellenborough, respecting the temple gates, we take to have been a very ordinary affair. That he meant a special kindness to Hindooism is what no one will insist upon. He had a political object to gain. It might be good, bad, or indifferent—great or little, beneficial or injurious, but such an object he had. He thought he could gain it by flattering, at the expense of every religious consideration, the worst and most brutal superstitions of brahminical heathenism. And he scrupled not to do it. And the church of England has tacitly connived at the act, inasmuch as only one bishop could be found to express disapproval of it; and both Houses of parliament have sanc-

tioned it; and the whole history of our administration in India has been, is, and will be, of a piece with it. And so ends the episode which whigs, disappointed at the successful termination of the war, got up as a kind of safety valve for their discontent. The other proceedings in parliament have been unimportant. Sir James Graham has brought in his Registration bill, wherein all the crying abuses of the present system are resolutely maintained.

The overland mail which arrived since our last brings intelligence from Bombay to the 3rd of February, and from China to the 1st of January. The news from India is of a somewhat more satisfactory character than usual. Lord Ellenborough, it is true, seems to have disgusted all parties by the part he is playing, both in reference to the gates of Somnauth and the festivities of Ferozepore; but some attention is now being directed to the internal improvement of India. An act for the abolition of slavery has been introduced into the legislative council, and the state of the finances of the country is engaging the attention of government. Scinde is quiet, as is also Bundelkund; and Shere Singh is about to send valuable presents to the British sovereign, in token of his friendly disposition. From China the intelligence is of a doubtful character. It appears that more than a hundred British subjects, wrecked in the ship Ner-budda and brig Anne, in September, 1841, and March, 1842, on the coast of the island of Formosa, have been recently put to death by the Chinese authorities there, who alleged that they acted under the orders of the Emperor. The British factory at Canton also has been destroyed by a mob, and the Commissioner Ellipoo has not yet arrived at Canton to conclude negotiations with Sir Henry Pottinger. If we are not yet involved in another struggle with the Chinese authorities it is not be the fault of the opium merchants, whose avarice provoked the last war, and who are now endangering all good understanding by violating every consular order, and refusing to pay even port charges. Some of them evidently anticipate with satisfaction a renewal of hostilities, and for the sake of a brisker trade would recklessly plunge us into all the horrors of two years more carnage and bloodshed; and yet these are the men, or rather the class of men, to whom we are awarding compensation for losses.

The chartist trials have been brought to a conclusion. O'Connor and the principal leaders of the body were found guilty on the fourth count of the indictment preferred against them, viz., of conspiring to induce a cessation of labour for the purpose of compassing constitutional changes. Whether this be or be not a crime, is to be hereafter decided by the judges. The trials seem to have been got up by the aristocracy for special purposes of their own, and in the main drift of them to have utterly disappointed expectation. We shall comment upon the matter next week.

The accounts of the earthquake in the West Indies, which will be found in another column, are full of the most thrilling interest. Antigua and Guadeloupe have suffered most severely, and the loss, both of life and property, has been extensive.

We have commented upon the complete suffrage movement elsewhere.

### GOVERNMENT EDUCATION—WHAT IS IT?

It is proposed to commit to the hands of the British government a new instrument of rule. The powers already vested in it are found insufficient, or likely to be so at no distant period, to keep the people in subjection. Aristocratic institutions have become so burdensome—aristocratic laws are felt to be so oppressive, that discontent can no longer hide itself. It is as clear as is the sun at noon day that quiet acquiescence in the present system of misgovernment will, at no distant period, give way to popular insubordination. Tyranny cuts too deep for the life of patience, which even now bleeds to death of neglect. The numbers of the poor increase with fearful rapidity—their privations increase in the same proportion. External restraint will soon be too feeble to hold them. The strike which occurred last autumn showed their powers of inflicting mischief, without resorting to the violence which disciplined troops can readily put down. *But they must be governed.* There exists no intention of remitting class rule. The church and the army fail to meet the exigency. Government consequently resorts to education. Such in substance is the Home Secretary's own account of the matter.

All the evidence, direct and incidental, points to this conclusion. To suppose that the cabinet is actuated in this matter by real concern for the people's welfare is not charity, but childishness. The power that withholds bread, offers its blessing in the shape of education. To what end? If to confer benefit upon the nation, how comes it that the same motive does not prompt a relaxation of our commercial code? Whence happens it that good-will shows itself in no direction but this? What makes all parties so united here, who elsewhere profess to be so utterly opposed? How comes it that tories are suddenly imbued with public spirit? No man who puts in the smallest

pretension to common sense can persuade himself that the legislature, evidently, avowedly, ostentatiously selfish in other important respects, is disinterested in this. The object is, not to do the people good, but to keep them in order. The thing aimed at is not so much to instruct as to govern them. Education is to do what physical force can no longer manage.

Observe the parties selected to be the almoners of this state bounty. If mere ignorance excite the compassion of government, how is it that the brutal stolidity of our agricultural population stirs not its pity? In our rural districts, thanks to the power and influence of a well-paid clergy, the labouring population is steeped to the core in all the evils which our rulers are so intent upon removing. The most accurate statistics give the blackest darkness and the grossest vice, not to our manufacturing towns, but to our country villages. The tables are against the latter, even in respect of the mere instruments of knowledge—reading and writing. But in the cultivation and exercise of the intellectual and moral faculties, it would be difficult to find their inferiors in Europe. The spirit of incendiarism can find no haunt in our towns and cities. The poacher, the ruffian, the secret worshiper of "Swing"—these men grow up in the country, under the more immediate supervision of the clergy. These benighted and besotted creatures, however, never elicited the benevolence of government—nor are they now to be the recipients of kind instructions. It is to the large towns that the new scheme of education is to be applied. There, where our mechanics' institutions are teaching the people to think, where their occupation disciplines them to observe, where benefit societies and trades unions instruct them how to combine, and where experience as well as improved moral feeling is prompting them to act in concert without violence—there, the *authorised* schoolmaster, the pedagogue, duly licensed and paid by government, is to be located. Can any man in his senses fail to discern the object?

Nor will it be out of place to note existing facilities for diffusing among the people the blessings of education. The report of the charity commissioners proves that immense endowments have been heretofore bequeathed for this object. These endowments, it is well known, are wickedly misappropriated. In almost every considerable town in the kingdom there are institutions, established centuries ago by private beneficence, which, if rendered as efficient as the funds pertaining to them would admit of, would furnish the means of sound education gratuitously to most of our industrious poor. Why are these left untouched? Why does not the legislature compel the honest administration of this immense property? Here, at all events, there was sufficient scope within which for good-will to show itself. Had government been sincere, had its object been popular education, not popular acquiescence in aristocratic rule, it would have commenced its efforts in this direction. But the honest administration of private funds, however ample, would not have placed the means of education under the authoritative control of "the powers that be." The thing obviously sought for is a new and efficient instrument for managing a somewhat restive people. The curb no longer holds—the whip no longer cowers, the population of these realms. The only chance remaining to the aristocracy of bestriding the people with safety is to see to it that they are properly broken in. This purpose is written upon their scheme in letters of light. Education is their sole remaining resource for maintaining class ascendancy—and education, in order to answer the purpose, must be in their own hands. The right application of charitable funds would not secure this. The gross misappropriation of them, therefore, is left unnoticed.

But let us look at the thing itself which the organ of the aristocracy proposes to do. Let the plan of government be stripped stark naked, and viewed apart from all the pretences in which it has been clothed. The education to be given is professedly a moral and religious one. The schoolmasters are to be approved of by the bishop, and the clergy of the establishment are to have free access to the children of all who are not committed to dissenting principles. Here then we have the mind of the labouring population, in its most susceptible and unformed state, passing under the hands of government agency to receive its earliest impressions—to imbibe its first principles—to contract its primary, and therefore most abiding, habits at schools conducted by the paid tools of the civil authorities. Can any one doubt what will be the issue? Is it necessary, in order to arrive at a correct conclusion, to cite the experience of despotic Prussia? All the elements of character are formed in early life. Knowledge may be acquired after the age of fourteen, but the disposition and bent of mind become by that time almost unalterably fixed. The man answers to the child—the child usually takes the shape that it may please his instructor to give him. Can any one suppose that government scholars will be trained to the free exercise of thought, will be encouraged to venture upon independent inquiry? Will state-paid schoolmasters be likely to inculcate the supe-



riority of truth to rank, or right to might? In a word, will the moral powers of the rising generation be moulded by government upon the maxims of Christianity, or upon those of aristocracy—upon the broad, vigorous, well-defined, and everlasting principles of justice, or upon the mean, truckling, slavish principles, instilled into the minds of the poor by overbearing oppression?

#### COMPLETE SUFFRAGE AGAIN.

THE chuckle with which the division of parties at the Birmingham conference was received by the whig religious press, the energy with which insincere reformers rubbed their hands in triumph, the jest and the sarcasm, the broad laugh and the solemn prediction, have had their day. The end of the complete suffrage movement, so confidently anticipated, has not come. The revulsion of public feeling, imagined to be a natural and necessary result of the events which took place at the end of last year, has turned out to be but slight, and the cause which Mr Sturge conducts has, almost without effort, recovered more ground than it had lost. It is now about to make its appeal to parliament; not, of course, with any expectation of immediate success, but under prospects which decidedly tell in favour of its future progress.

The records of our own columns will show the prudence, activity, and earnestness of its friends. They are now engaged in conciliating the good will of the electoral body. They are organising themselves in every important borough with more or less efficiency. They are diffusing, by quiet and unostentatious methods, by the reprint of political articles, by pithy tracts, and by popular lectures, sound information. They are gradually exercising their young strength in canvassing the constituencies for signatures to memorials. They are even, as vacancies occur, putting forward, with good prospects of success, their own candidates. Their principles are silently making way into the very heart of society. There is more real democracy amongst the people than the unobservant are apt to suspect. The leaven is fermenting the whole mass; and little note as is taken of the onward march of the cause, it is making rapid way, even in quarters deemed to be the most unlikely.

We shall not attempt to conjecture the tone of the approaching debate in the house of Commons. Save as a means of keeping the subject fairly before the eye of the public, we know but little good that can be accomplished by the submission of such high and weighty matters to the present parliament. Happily, we are not obliged to take the decision of the House as necessarily expressive of the country's will. So wide is the difference between the representatives and the represented—so little sympathy is there between the people and those who hold the people's purse, that were the principles of complete suffrage more popular amongst the electors than confessedly they are, such popularity would scarcely tell in the house of Commons. The public have ceased to look to that body as in any manner adapted to reflect the national mind. The members of it represent upwards of a million pounds sterling spent in bribery, and nothing else. The power they have was obtained chiefly by fraud and intimidation. The body stands before the public self-condemned. Its functions are usurped, and virtually the knell of its doom has rung.

It matters little, therefore, what may be the ultimate decision of this body upon the motion of Mr Sharman Crawford on Thursday night. There are much surer indications of the progress of the cause than can be found in parliamentary division lists. The friends of the movement therefore, we trust, will attach no importance to what may possibly wear a discouraging aspect—a numerically small minority. The time is just at hand for a fresh and more vigorous course of agitation. A little further patience, and we doubt not that complete suffrage will take the foremost place among the questions of the day. We could well have desired to stir up the energy of our friends by noting some of the more encouraging signs of the times. This, however, we must defer. Personal indisposition compels us to break off, and to comprise, within the present narrow limits, our observations for the week.

The Queen and Prince Albert, accompanied by the Princess Royal, arrived at Buckingham palace on Wednesday afternoon from Claremont, in a carriage and four with an escort of hussars.

**NEW GAOL RULES.**—We understand that one fruit of the recent inquiry into the Northleach house of correction, and the other prisons of Gloucestershire, has been the promulgation by the Secretary of State of a code of rules and regulations for the uniform government of jails throughout the kingdom. These rules are "recommended" to be adopted; but it is intimated that, if the "recommendation" be not acquiesced in by the magistrates, the government will use its authority to cause their introduction and general adoption. The dietary imposed by those rules is rather more liberal and nutritive than under the old system.

The *Atlas* announces the receipt of nearly 160 prize essays, suggesting remedies for the existing distress, "many of which are the bulk of several volumes."

#### THE STRIKE.

ITS HISTORY, CAUSES, AND CONSEQUENCES.

(From a Manchester Correspondent.)

(We do not hold ourselves responsible for the opinions contained in these papers.)

#### XVII.

The week beginning with Monday, August 15th. Division of the Narrative into Sections—Section 1st—The Movement on the Borders, and into Yorkshire, Halifax, Skipton, Bradford, Leeds, Dewsbury, Wakefield.

THE events of the week now about to be entered upon were of so varied a character that it will be impossible to keep to the method heretofore pursued, of describing, in the history of each day, the whole of the facts developed in its course, with a due regard to perspicuity. In fact, the history of the week, beginning with Monday, August 15th, contains within it a number of histories, differing widely in subject, but still necessary to the consecutiveness of the whole. First, there is the progress of the turn-out to be described under separate heads—one embracing the stoppages in the north of Lancashire, and the continuation of the "raid" in Yorkshire—another touching upon the march of the holiday in various parts of the kingdom, and upon the exhibitions of sympathy in places far removed from the scenes of action—another especially treating upon the Staffordshire outrages, and their influence upon the moral effect of the movement. Then there is the history of the trades' delegate meeting—a most important portion of the narrative; with the proceedings of the chartist executive and chartist delegates; in addition to all which are many minor branches of the subject, all of which must be gathered up and interwoven as the web runs out.

Leaving for awhile the delegates to commence their sittings in Manchester—the colliers to commit the most frightful excesses in different parts of Staffordshire—the Londoners to sympathise with the "brave turn-outs of the North"—and the chartists to their divided deliberations and unanimous manifestos; let us proceed to follow the steps of the insurgents in their wanderings amongst the hills of the border, and through the dales of Yorkshire.

The turn-outs, after leaving Accrington on Saturday, had visited Padiham and other smaller places, in all of which they were received without opposition from the authorities, who were destitute of force to repel them, and met with a hearty welcome from the working men. In this district there are great numbers of hand-loom weavers and block printers, men whose earnings had been for a long time so small, and their employment so irregular, that they were suffering the last extremity of want. These very gladly sallied forth to stop the factories and workshops, where machinery—regarded by them as the immediate cause of their sufferings—was employed. Having roused Burnley, and being joined by the turn-outs from that place, they proceeded to Colne, where they found the mills already standing. After holding a meeting, they dispersed in smaller bodies over the country, calling at Marsden, Barnoldswick, Clitheroe, and several other places within a dozen miles of Colne. So ended their Monday's proceedings. On Tuesday, August 16th, they collected in great force at Colne, and gathering numbers from all the towns they passed through, reached their destination, Skipton in Yorkshire, about 12 o'clock. There they were parleyed with by the magistrates, who, having then no military force, allowed them unmolested to stop the mills in the town. By the time this was effected, a detachment of soldiers arrived. The Riot act was read. Smith, a Colne chartist, and the leader of this division of "plug dragoons," was apprehended; and the mob, after a short resistance, during which one of the magistrates received a blow which destroyed his eye, was completely dispersed.

Many of the discomfited rioters went home; others walked on to other towns in Yorkshire, and aided in the proceedings of this and following days.

We will now go back to the army from Lancashire, left on Saturday evening bivouacked amongst the border hills. These men and women straggled about during Sunday; attended camp meetings in different places; and, though some returned homewards, presented by the dawn of day on Monday a formidable array, ready for a march upon Halifax, and a revisit to Huddersfield. The latter was paid during the afternoon, and led to a collision with the military, in which some people were hurt.

The people of Halifax met at five o'clock, in the Market place, and speeches were being delivered when the magistrates appeared and, after some time, ordered the multitude to disperse. Upon this, there were loud shouts of "Let's away to Luddenden Foot," and immediately the crowd left town and marched to that place, where they found a large body of the Lancashire men on their way to Halifax. Other bodies from Lancashire appeared, and a grand junction was made at King Cross, a small village on a high hill overlooking Halifax and the whole country around it. Filling the road for nearly half a mile, the people marched on in a dense mass until they came to the North bridge, where the military and police were drawn up and forbade their further progress.

While Halifax was threatened on one side by the people from Lancashire, accompanied by the large body which had left the town at an earlier hour in the morning; it was also put in peril by a vast concourse from Bradford on the other. A meeting had been held at Bradford at six in the morning, and it had been resolved to march at once upon the neighbour town, distant about nine miles. The crowd appeared at the top of New Bank, which also overlooks Halifax, at the very moment that the other body were being stopped at the North Bridge. The Bradford men were stopped likewise. A pause took place. The women, who constituted no inconsiderable portion of both processions, advanced to the

front and asked the soldiers "whether they would hurt the women?" they likewise appealed to the magistrates, telling them "they came for bread and not bayonets." While the colloquies were going on, the rear of the processions had been clambering the road-side walls and worming themselves by dozens and scores into the town. The stragglers from both sides meeting, began to stop mills. The soldiers were sent for, and, by being withdrawn from the North Bridge, allowed a clear passage for the Lancashire and Halifax people, into the heart of the place. The other body, animated by a general impulse, broke away down the banks and over the walls and speedily joined the mass in the streets of Halifax. Mills were stopped in spite of the military and police, who could not be everywhere. Prisoners were taken and attempted to be rescued. The soldiers fired repeatedly, and many persons were hurt.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, an immense meeting of the turn-outs took place on Skircoat moor, a fine open place on the heights above Halifax. Three resolutions were passed, by which the meeting was pledged not to return to work until—

1. The people's charter was obtained;
2. Wages advanced to the rate of 1840; and
3. A guarantee entered into, by the employers, that they should be kept up to that standard.

In the afternoon, there were many crowdings together and gatherings in particular parts of the town; the cavalry charged repeatedly, and the foot occasionally charged the people at the point of the bayonet. In the evening the greater part of the Lancashire men went towards home, but promised, in shouts to the people whom they passed, to return on the following day in greater numbers.

At six o'clock on Tuesday morning a meeting took place on Skircoat moor. About 2,000 persons were there. The meeting was opened with singing a hymn commencing—

"Praise God from whom all blessings flow,  
"Praise him all creatures here below;"

followed by a prayer from one of the workmen, invoking the assistance and protection of the Almighty in their enterprise, and praying that peace and order might be preserved.

It was agreed, in accordance with the advice of one of the Bradford men, to send delegates to Todmorden, Bradford, and Huddersfield, to induce the turn-outs, in these towns immediately to march upon Halifax; it was also determined that the meeting should stand adjourned to one o'clock, and that, in the mean time, the persons present should march to Elland, Cooper Bridge, Brighouse, Stainland, and Barksland, and stop all work in the several places visited. The great bulk of the people at the meeting formed in loose order and proceeded on this mission.

During the morning, the magistrates resolved to send the prisoners, captured on Monday, off to Wakefield for safety; therefore, omnibuses were procured, and the prisoners despatched under a small guard of horse to the railway station, at Elland. The news spread like wildfire. The road, as the omnibuses proceeded, was, in many places, crowded with people, and the soldiers were hooted and pelted. The prisoners were, however, safely deposited in the railway carriages, and were soon far on their way to prison. As the omnibuses and soldiers returned they were attacked upon the heights, at Salter Hebble, by a large mob. The omnibuses were broken in pieces, and three of the soldiers, being knocked off their horses and stunned, were left in the hands of the mob, and remained in its custody until released by a strong party of military. The small party defeated by the mob fired repeatedly, but, as the people sheltered behind trees and walls, no one was wounded.

Early in the afternoon the meeting took place on Skircoat moor, and was numerously attended. The language of the speakers was very temperate: their hearers, however, did not seem willing to abide by the good advice given to them. The temporary triumph at Salter Hebble, magnified by rumour, had at once exasperated and raised the confidence of the ruder portion of the turn-outs. When the meeting was over, the town was soon crowded with people, and a vast concourse assembled at Haley hill, preparatory to advancing into the centre of the town. The military were sent to disperse this assemblage. On coming up with it, groans and yells burst from the crowd; and a gun was fired at the soldiers. Orders were given to fire. Several people were wounded: the hussars and foot advanced, charging the people, and occasionally firing when provoked by the stones thrown at them, or by random discharges from a few blunderbusses carried in the crowd. The town was effectually cleared; the mob retiring to the summits of the hills, where they stood gazing upon the town below them, until the setting of the sun warned them to seek the shelter and repose of homes, far distant from which many of them were.

Wednesday was comparatively quiet; and, with the exception of a few slight disturbances, the peace of the town remained unbroken afterwards. The struggle had been made by circumstances a physical conflict; and this destroyed the enthusiasm kindled, and kept up so long in other places.

A large body of men left Bradford on Tuesday morning, and proceeded to Bingley and Keighley. They stopped all the mills in these places, and turned out the hands from every mill and workshop on their route. As they went along they levied a sort of "black mail" upon the shopkeepers, farmers, and gentry, and were—and the remark will apply to all the Yorkshire mob-processions—rough, rude, and clamorous, but they did not offer violence to any one. During their absence attempts, but partially successful, had been made to stop the mills still at work in Bradford; and the soldiers having been called out to quell the disturbances, were ready, on the approach of the returning body, to charge them, which was done; whereupon they fled in all directions, and only



gained the town in time to be driven out again into the country.

On Wednesday morning a large concourse from Bradford visited Stanningley, Bramley, Pudsey, and other places, stopping all work, but committing no violence.

Leeds, the capital of the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire, was much excited on Monday and Tuesday. On the latter day parties of turn-outs stopped mills on the outskirts of the town; and on Wednesday several mills were stopped, in spite of a wide organisation of the police and military to prevent it. On Thursday a meeting of the Leeds turn-outs was held on the Moor. It was dispersed by the dragoons.

At Dewsbury, the hands turned out in the first instance without a formal visit, and on Wednesday extended the movement by visiting several towns within half a day's march of them. Many parties were out, and a multitude of places were visited. It should be added that some of the Ashton delegates, and those appointed at Todmorden, had prepared the way in many places, and had organised willing hands in carrying the strike forward throughout the country.

At the meetings abundantly held during the spread of the turn-out and during its decline, the charter was almost invariably insisted on, as necessary to the achievement of better wages. Disputes between "wage" and "charter" men were of rare occurrence. Almost the only meeting of any consequence at which the operatives did not make a sort of stand for the charter, was a large gathering of colliers held at Wakefield, on Monday, Aug. 15. At this meeting it was resolved, after some opposition, that no political subject should be mentioned in the discussion. The first resolution set forth that the meeting considered themselves, "as a body of miners, the moving class of society," and that they ought to be remunerated in proportion to the danger and difficulty of their occupation. The second appealed for support from the masters; and the third appointed a general delegate meeting from the Yorkshire colliers, for Monday, August 29.

### The Complete Suffrage Movement.

The council met at Birmingham on Monday, and transacted their usual business as under:—

Letters were read from J. Mitchell, Aberdeen; W. M. Buchanan, Liverpool; Thomas Brown, Cupar; F. J. Thompson, Bridgewater; M. C. Frankland, Molton; R. M. Hanke, Falmouth; John Somerville, Kendal; J. Dalrymple, Edinburgh; James Allen, Sheffield; J. J. Darken, Norwich; C. H. Elt, Finsbury; H. Vincent; Thomas Beggs, Nottingham; C. H. Neesom, London; A. T. Aikman, Edinburgh; R. Sloman, Tavistock. We extract the following:—

#### EXTRACTS FROM CORRESPONDENCE.

**BRIDGEWATER.**—"A requisition to our two tory members has been in course of signature the last few days. I expect there will be the names of about 120 electors appended to it. The Suffrage association here is quietly at work. We have a few tracts ordered from London for distribution, and now and then reprint an article from the *Nonconformist* to enlighten the people. I am, yours truly, FRANCIS JAMES THOMPSON."

**MOLTON, YORKSHIRE.**—"I am happy to inform you that I have this day had the pleasure of forwarding to each of our members a requisition, signed by forty-four of the most respectable and influential electors of this borough, calling upon our representatives, if possible, to attend and support Mr S. Crawford's motion for leave to bring in a bill for securing the fair representation of the people, and for shortening the duration of parliaments. I am, dear sir, yours most respectfully, M. C. FRANKLAND."

**NORWICH.**—"I have the pleasure to inform you that we had a meeting of the friends of complete suffrage in this place last Wednesday evening, called by circular, when nearly all present joined our association, of whom sixty-three are parliamentary electors. We have likewise prepared a requisition to our member, B. Smith, who I trust will support Mr Crawford's motion. I think this very satisfactory, as Norwich has always been regarded as the stronghold of the opponents of all moral or political improvement. I am, dear sir, faithfully yours, J. J. DARKEN."

"Resolved—That a circular be issued requesting the attendance and votes of members of parliament, in support of Mr Crawford's motion in the house of Commons on the 16th."

"Resolved—That the balloting machine, prepared in conformity with the description contained in the bill about to be introduced into parliament by Mr Sharman Crawford, be deposited at Brown's hotel, Palace yard, Westminster, from Wednesday to Saturday next, for inspection by members of parliament who may think proper to call for that purpose."

The following is an analysis of the division in the Birmingham town council, on the notice to petition parliament in favour of complete suffrage, a report of which appeared in our last:—For—Alderman Weston; Councillors, Matchett, E. Whitfield, Court, Barlow, Hadley, Truman, Hawkes, Feild, Rawlings, Griffiths, Atkinson, Baldwin, Oram, Spicer, Clarke, Perry, Corah, R. Smith, W. H. Smith, C. Sturge, Goodrick, Shaw, Cornforth, Page, and Havecock—26. Against—Aldermen Muntz, J. P., Van Wart, J. P., Bolton, J. P., Scholefield, J. P., Beale, J. P., Room, Cutler, Phillips, Thornton, Hutton; Councillors—T. Whitfield, Rodgers, Elliot, Mason, Hardman, Lucas, Clowes, Wright, Rodway, Blunt, Lawden, Whittle, Barnett, Parker, Mole, Martineau, and Evans—27.

	For the Petition.	Against.
Aldermen	1	10
Councillors elected prior to 1842	15	13
Councillors elected on 1st Nov. 1842	10	4
	26	27

It will thus be seen, that of the town councillors elected by the burgesses at large, 25 voted for the petition, and only 17 against it. And that of the town councillors last elected, who must be taken to represent the existing opinions of the burgesses, ten supported the petition, and only four opposed it. Only one alderman supported the petition, and ten opposed it; and by their votes alone it was rejected. These gentlemen were elected by the council four years ago; and many of them then professed themselves to be supporters of the six points. Since that period, however, no less than five have been put into the commission of the peace by the whig government. Thus, taking the division in its proper light, it furnishes a clear demonstration that complete suffrage is supported by the majority of the burgesses of Birmingham.

#### TAVISTOCK ELECTION.

This little whig borough is in the midst of an election contest. Mr Trelawney is in the field on the whig interest, though he calls himself a radical. He is in favour of household suffrage and triennial parliaments, and other measures of reform. The radical electors are much dissatisfied with him; and a requisition was forwarded to Joseph Sturge, Esq., inviting him to become a candidate. Mr Sturge declined. Trelawney convened a meeting of his friends and supporters to-day in the Town hall, when only seven persons attended. At three o'clock this afternoon Henry Vincent arrived in the town, post from Gloucester. His arrival soon spread through the town, and at eight o'clock he was introduced to a large meeting of electors and non-electors in the Temperance meeting room, and was loudly cheered. He expounded the principles of the Complete Suffrage Union, and showed the necessity of sending sterling radicals to parliament. Considerable anxiety is manifested by the whigs to ascertain whether Mr Vincent intends to go to the poll himself, or to propose another candidate; but this has not as yet transpired. Deducting removals and deaths, the constituency is about 230; and should there be a conservative candidate it is thought the complete suffrage man would stand a good chance of being returned.

Another correspondent writes as follows:—

"Tavistock, 13th March, 1843.—The election for this borough, in consequence of the resignation of J. Rundle, Esq., will take place on Wednesday, the 15th instant. J. S. Trelawney, Esq., is in the field as a candidate, and up to Saturday last expected quietly to walk over the course, when, almost of a sudden, Mr Henry Vincent came among us to place before us the principles of complete suffrage. On the evening of the same day he addressed the electors (the room being crowded to excess) in a long and able speech, explaining the great principles on which he intended to act. The effect of this address was perfectly electrical, at the close of which one universal burst of applause arose from every part of the hall, in which Tories, whigs, radicals, and all joined. Jealousies and suspicions respecting him were at once removed, and he received a cordial and hearty welcome. Many of the friends of Trelawney were crest-fallen and sullen at the position in which they had placed themselves by requesting him to come forward as a candidate. A third person, in the conservative interest, is promised on the day of nomination. If this promise is fulfilled, our prospects are cheering indeed, and we stand a good chance of returning Mr Vincent. There is to be another public meeting to-night at seven o'clock, at the Ball room, Bedford hotel, when Mr Vincent will again address the electors, when we hope that the popular enthusiasm will be raised, so as to render his return beyond the possibility of a doubt. Next week we will furnish you with all the particulars of the election. J. S. Trelawney, Esq., was brought forward by many of the radicals of this borough as being the only person then thought of who would advocate principles nearest to their own; but when questioned closely by the Rev. H. Solly at the hustings, when he first met the electors, on his principles, his answers were so very unsatisfactory to a great number of the electors that another meeting was called the next evening, when a resolution was proposed and carried, with but one dissentient, that Joseph Sturge, Esq., of Birmingham, be invited. A requisition was at once drawn up, and numerously signed to him; but circumstances over which he had no control prevented his accepting it. Mr Henry Vincent was warmly recommended by him, and he now stands among us the advocate of the great principles of complete suffrage and universal peace. Mr Henry Vincent, in coming here, did not intend to contest the borough, and is still averse to it; but it is thought the electors will insist on his going to the poll."

**MANCHESTER.**—A requisition from the electors of Manchester to Mark Phillips and T. M. Gibson, Esqs., calling upon them to give their support and votes in favour of Mr Sharman Crawford's motion for leave to bring in the Complete Suffrage bill, is now in course of signature. Upwards of two hundred electors have already signed. Amongst the names already appended are those of ten members of the corporation council. Six gentlemen, whose united property amounts to more than half a million, have likewise affixed their names. A great many of the electors here are becoming converts to the cause from conviction of its justice; and, of course, the support of such men is worth much more than that of those who may join the ranks of the complete suffragists through temporary impulse, or pique against the aristocracy.

**COVENTRY.**—The following requisition to the members for this city has been recently forwarded, most respectably signed:—"We, the undersigned electors and inhabitants of the city of Coventry, hereby respectfully request you to attend in parliament on the 16th instant, and record your vote in favour of the motion of the honourable member for Rochdale for leave to bring in a bill to provide for the better representation of the people in the Commons house of parliament." A provisional committee also has been formed for organising a local complete suffrage association here, which it is hoped will soon be in active operation.

**LEICESTER.**—At the monthly meeting of the Complete Suffrage association, on Tuesday evening last, Mr Manning in the chair; a resolution condemning the conduct of the *Patriot* in reference to complete suffrage, which appeared in our advertising columns last week, was unanimously carried. It was then agreed that a letter should be sent to the members for the borough, signed by the Chairman of the meeting, requesting them to support Mr Crawford's motion. The committee for the ensuing year were then balloted for, consisting of 18 persons, with whom are to be associated the seven ward secretaries. The *Leicester Mercury* further states, that "Mr Manning, the late chairman of the committee, and Mr Waddington, the secretary, having signified their wish not to continue in these offices, Mr John Collier, Southgate street, was unanimously elected chairman, and Mr H. A. Collier, *Mercury* office, secretary, for the ensuing year. The committee are taking active measures for carrying out the extended operations resolved upon by the members."

**NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.**—The committee of the Complete Suffrage society, we understand, are getting up petitions to the members for Newcastle and Gateshead, requesting their support to the motion of Mr Sharman Crawford in favour of popular enfranchisement.—*Gateshead Observer*.

**BRADFORD.**—The complete suffrage party in Bradford have got up memorials to John Hardy, Esq., and W. Busfield, Esq., the representatives of the borough, wishing them to be in their places in the house of Commons during the discussion of Mr Sharman Crawford's motion for complete suffrage, and also to vote for it. The memorials have been signed by between two and three hundred electors, amongst whom are several conservatives.—*Leeds Mercury*.

**NOTTINGHAM.**—A public tea party, in connexion with this movement, is on the tapis. The Mayor, we understand, has granted the use of the Exchange hall for the purpose, and letters have been addressed to Lord Ranelagh, Sharman Crawford, Esq., M.P., T. Duncombe, Esq., M.P., M. Gisborne, Esq., Dr Smiles of Leeds, and other friends of the cause, requesting their attendance. Mr Sturge is obliged, though reluctantly, to decline being present. The party is to be held on Monday week, and Mr H. Vincent has engaged to be present.—*Notts Review*.

**SALFORD.**—At a meeting of the committee of the Salford Complete Suffrage association, the following resolution was passed:—"Resolved, that this committee having full confidence in Mr Brotherton's readiness to support all just measures, do not deem it necessary to get an electors' requisition to Mr B., feeling assured that without any such step, Mr Brotherton will be in his place in parliament on the 16th, to support Sharman Crawford, Esq., when introducing the bill adopted by the last Complete Suffrage conference."

**CHELTEMHAM.**—On Wednesday evening last, Mr Henry Vincent delivered a lecture on complete suffrage, at the large room over the Medical hall in this town. The chair was ably occupied by the Rev. J. E. Davis, baptist minister of Gloucester. The room was crowded to excess, and a number of electors were present. Mr Vincent explained the objects of the Complete Suffrage Union in an address of two hours' duration. He reviewed the objections commonly raised against the principles of complete suffrage, and showed their accordance with reason, justice, and the precepts of Christianity. He pointed out the duty of electors at the present crisis, and the success that would attend their efforts at organisation, by giving the results of the recent elections at Nottingham, Ipswich, and Southampton. It is impossible to describe the impassioned strains of eloquence which occasionally fell from the lips of the lecturer, and the almost electrical effect which it had upon the numerous auditory. At the close of the lecture, Mr J. Goding addressed the meeting at some length on the advantages that would result if the electors of the town, who had become convinced of the justness of Mr Vincent's arguments, would come forward and publicly avow their sentiments. He introduced a memorial to the member of the borough, requesting him to vote for Mr Sharman Crawford's motion on the 16th instant, and hoped that the electors present would sign it that it might go forth to the world—that in the whig pocket borough of Cheltenham a few honest and independent men existed, who felt it their duty to demand the support of the so-called parliamentary representative for the complete suffrage bill. Mr Goding's proposition was met with acclamation, and thirty-two electors immediately attached their signatures, and the document now lies at the residence of the proposer awaiting more names. Mr Wiggins proposed, and Mr J. Goding seconded, a vote of thanks to Mr Vincent, for his able and talented lecture; when some recriminatory remarks were made by Messrs Milson and Smith, two of the O'Connorite party, on the proceedings at the late conference, and questioned Mr V. on his conduct there, which he answered to the evident satisfaction of the audience. The Chairman having put the motion, the O'Connorites held up but five hands in opposition, and the vote of thanks was carried with reiterated cheers. Mr J. Banfield moved, and Mr W. Hollis, the zealous president of the Cheltenham Complete Suffrage association, seconded, a vote of thanks to the rev. chairman, which having been suitably acknowledged, the proceedings of this most interesting and important meeting were brought to a close.

**GLoucester.**—The banner of complete suffrage was unfurled for the first time in this ancient ecclesiastical city, by Mr Henry Vincent, on Thursday evening last. The theatre royal having been engaged for the occasion, was well filled by a deeply attentive audience. Mr Vincent eloquently ex-



plained and defended the right of the country to be fully and fairly represented, and the machinery adopted by the Complete Suffrage Union for the attainment of that great object. The Rev. J. E. Davis, baptist minister, was in the chair, and at the commencement and close of the lecture addressed the meeting on the importance of the agitation set on foot by Mr Sturge and his friends. A complete suffrage association will be immediately established here. Mr Vincent left the city on the following morning via Gloucester and Birmingham railway, to lecture at Sheffield.

**WORCESTER.**—On Tuesday week, Henry Vincent addressed a large meeting of the friends of complete suffrage in the Town hall. Mr Stone (a member of the society of Friends) occupied the chair. The sentiments of the lecturer were hailed with delight, and a vote of thanks was unanimously awarded.

**SHEFFIELD.**—Mr Marples delivered an excellent lecture before the members and friends of this society on "Church establishments subversive of personal liberty," in the assembly rooms last Tuesday evening. At the close of the lecture Mr Mycock announced that the committee had agreed, at their last meeting, to have the requisition to the borough members, requesting them to support Mr S. Crawford's motion, signed by electors; and that upwards of five hundred names had already been obtained. He expressed himself agreeably surprised to find the electors were nearly unanimous in giving their signatures, and that if more time had been given, the names of a majority of the electors could be obtained. Mr Beale addressed the meeting on the importance of having the requisition signed by a large number of electors. He believed it to be the most important undertaking they had yet engaged in. If it failed to secure the support of the borough members, it would show them the complete suffragists were a party with great influence, and not to be trifled with. The times were pregnant with great events; we scarcely appreciated their importance, but our history knew no parallel, and they would be looked back to by our posterity with interest and feeling. He urged them to make the best use of their time, and visit all the electors they could before Friday evening, when the requisition would be sent off by the committee. The requisition was sent off by this day's post with 870 signatures of electors, and the committee had no doubt double the number might have been got if they had commenced canvassing earlier. It included the names of all the old reformers, and a large number of the principal merchants and manufacturers of the borough. Mr Vincent was to have visited Sheffield on Monday. The theatre royal was taken, and considerable expense incurred, which has increased the disappointment. We hope, when he does come, to have a great accession of strength.

**BIRMINGHAM.**—At the meeting of the commissioners of the Birmingham Street act, a letter was read from the National Complete Suffrage Union, requesting the use of the Town hall for a lecture to be delivered by the Rev. T. Spencer of Hinton. In support of this application, Mr Hutton presented a memorial signed by 291 rate payers. After some discussion, the Chairman put Mr Sturge's application to the meeting, when it was negatived by a large majority.

**EDINBURGH.**—The council of the Edinburgh Complete Suffrage Union have been actively engaged for the last two or three days, in procuring the signatures of the members of the Union who are electors, and other liberal members of the constituency, to a requisition to the members for the city, calling on them to support the motion of Mr Sharman Crawford announced for Thursday next. We understand the requisition has already been numerously signed, but we have not ascertained the precise number of names attached to it up to the time we write. As it must be sent off very soon, perhaps within a few hours, we earnestly hope every truly liberal elector who has not yet signed it, will do so promptly. Any supineness in this matter, will tell powerfully to the disadvantage of the cause of reform.—*Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle.*

**ABERDEEN.**—A correspondent sends the following pleasing information:—"Mr John Macpherson, the chairman of the Complete Suffrage association, has this week forwarded to our representative a memorial calling upon him to support Mr Crawford's motion, fixed for the 16th. The requisition was signed by 408 electors of the city, being a majority of the number polled in favour of Mr Bannerman at last election. The memorial contained the names of seven dissenting clergymen, several members of the town council, and some of the most wealthy of our citizens. I mention wealth for the especial enlightenment of our opponents, who judge a cause, not by the soundness of principle, but by the wealth, and what they call respectability, of its advocates."

**CUPAR, FIFE.**—A letter, signed by about 80 of the liberal electors of this place, has been sent to Edward Ellice, Esq., M.P., requesting him to support Mr Sharman Crawford's motion for leave to bring in a bill of rights.—*Dundee Herald.*

**A FACT FOR MESSRS STURGE, VINCENT, AND OTHERS.**—A correspondent complains that about six years ago he was a Burgess of a Cornish borough, and also an elector for the borough and county, having three votes, one for the municipality, and two for the legislature. That the writer had previously resided many years in the borough as a householder, politically dead, without any franchise whatever, until invested with his rights by the parliamentary and borough reform acts—none but the soulless bodies of the town being sufficiently subservient for the dirty work of those who sold the franchise. That during the time he held the franchise, many were the persecutions for conscience' sake; the rich dictating to the poor tradesmen, schoolmasters, &c., how the latter

should vote. That he then left the borough, and traveled in foreign parts, and saw the men of many climes; and after three long voyages again returned to his country. On his return he found himself, and has ever since been, deprived of his rights as a citizen, through not residing in a parliamentary borough. For town councillors he is again entitled to vote; but as to those who tax him and his countrymen, and make the laws he is bound to obey, he has no voice in the matter, although he contends that he has now more experience, knowledge, and wisdom; and, with respect to ability to elect a representative, a sounder judgment than ever he had. What does this prove? That the houses and fields were "the prime wisdom." He also observes that he once occupied a house at £9 per annum, and was not qualified, but was a mere serf. He took a house at £10, and was shortly after registered as a parliamentary elector. What does this prove? That £9 19s. 11½d. have not sufficient sagacity to elect; but that £10 have. One farthing is therefore a qualification. This is the golden image set up and exalted over all that is called man, ever since the word respectable—"our respectable friends"—got into the pulpit. The borough where he voted contained 3,500 inhabitants; the town he now lives in has 8,500, with no franchise!

## General News.

### FOREIGN.

#### CHINA.

The express from Marseilles, in anticipation of the overland mail, brings intelligence from China to the 1st of January. The news is of much importance.

On the 23d of November, Sir Henry Pottinger published a proclamation, declaring that he had, since his arrival at Amoy, learned with extreme horror and astonishment that many more than 100 British subjects, who had been wrecked in the ship *Nerbudda* and brig *Ann* in September, 1841, and March, 1842, on the coast of the island of Formosa, had been recently put to death by the Chinese authorities there, who alleged that this cold-blooded act had been perpetrated by order of the Emperor. This proclamation goes on to describe the atrocity of this sanguinary and inhuman crime, and concludes with stating that the British plenipotentiary was resolved to demand from the Emperor that the local authorities who, by false representations, had led to the commission of the enormity, should be degraded and condignly punished; and that their property should be confiscated, and the proceeds handed over to the officers of the British government for the relief and support of the families of those who had been thus mercilessly put to death. A threat of a renewal of hostilities was held out in case the demand should not be complied with. It was, however, supposed that the Emperor would not refuse compliance.

On the 7th of December a formidable riot broke out in the neighbourhood of Canton, which soon extended itself to the foreign factories. The immediate cause is stated to be the irregular conduct of the crews of some ships, and in particular of that of the *Fort William*, who were allowed to go ashore in numbers without any proper officer to control them. The mob had, it is said, been excited previously by certain anti-British partisans; they soon quitted the sailors, who had by retreating from the original place of combat led them towards the factories. The first great object of attack was the British factory; they burned the flagstaff and the flag, and soon afterwards the windows and doors of the building were forced open, the mob entered, and the work of pillage commenced. Fire was then set to the edifice, which was consumed. Luckily, the steamer *Proserpine*, having on board Sir Hugh Gough, arrived at Canton, and the rioting ceased. The merchants at Canton began a correspondence with Sir Hugh Gough, who remained there until the 14th, and also with Sir Henry Pottinger, who was at Hong Kong, requesting the latter to order a protective force to be sent to Canton, in order that they might carry on their commerce in security. This application received a decided refusal from Sir H. Pottinger, who, in his reply, made some severe comments on the conduct of the merchants. The latter then made a replication in their defence. All the correspondence has been remitted to the British government, and is published in the daily papers. Sir H. Pottinger, in his last letter to the merchants, dated December 24, states that the viceroy at Canton had, in reply to the letter addressed to him, declared his great anxiety, as well as his perfect ability, to protect all foreigners; and had also expressed his readiness to repay such losses as might have been incurred during the late riots, after they should have been correctly ascertained and submitted through her Majesty's government.

A private letter from Hong Kong, dated Dec. 31st, says—

"The feeling here, or rather at Macao, among the merchants is that the Chinese will break faith. I believe they wish they would, as it would be a grand lift to tea at home; on that ground alone they have set up such a howl. The non-arrival of the imperial commissioner at Canton is an ugly circumstance. However, here at the government house no mistrust or apprehension of bad faith on the part of the Chinese is entertained; at the same time the non-receipt of any intimation when the commissioner will arrive or cause of detention is admitted. These commissioners were to have been in Canton early in December."

"I may mention to you that the censure of the plenipotentiary is merited by the merchants, who, in smuggling opium and all other kinds of goods at Whampoa and at Canton, have outraged all former precedents, and created much distrust in the minds of the Chinese authorities. Few of the vessels now pay port charges, although the consignees no doubt pay it, and the whole course of proceedings in the Canton river has been and is a disgrace to civilisation."

"It is admitted that, in direct contravention of the plenipotentiary's authority, ships have been despatched secretly to the new consular ports."

"At Canton business has not been interrupted. As soon as Commissioner Elepoo arrives, Sir H. Pottinger will proceed thither."

"The Chinese government has bought some foreign vessels, and is going to build some on European models for war purposes. They want much some steamers, and will pay for them long prices. It was intimated to them that if the treaty was amicably arranged, it was not unlikely the Queen would present the emperor with a fully equipped war steamer. Were there a dozen steamers here adapted to coast and river navigation, the Chinese would, I have no doubt, take them."

"Another letter of the 21st states, that Sir Henry Pottinger had applied for his recall, and that he had given his opinion that the powers of the government of Hong Kong should be very strong, even to that of deportation, in order to counteract the lawlessness of the smugglers. The difficulties in forming the commercial regulations would, it was feared, be very great, in consequence of the Chinese being likely to demand a reciprocity of duties on their goods when imported into the British territories. Mr Thom, the destined British consul at Canton, was busy there in investigating the causes of the riots. Five of the leaders of the anti-English party were then in the hands of the local government, and were in danger of being "squeezed," perhaps to death."

In the mean time the arrival at Singapore, on the 1st of January, of forty-three transports, having on board the Sepoy part of the China expedition, proves that the Envoy had not then entertained any serious apprehension of the renewal of hostilities. There were still more than twenty British vessels of war with five steamers remaining on the Chinese coast. The land force then consisted principally of about 6,000 European troops, most of them living in the garrisons of the still occupied places."

#### INDIA.

The latest intelligence received by the overland mail, from Bombay, is dated Feb. 3. The papers are almost universally occupied in abusing Lord Ellenborough. The gates of Somnauth, the assembling of an army of reserve on the Sutlej, and the festivities of Ferozepore, form the chief topics of attack. The latter scarcely came up to the expectations which had been previously raised as to magnificence. Shere Singh is about to send valuable presents to the British Sovereign, in token of his friendly disposition. Bundelkond is described as quiet; its tranquillity will be effectually supported by the force of 14,000 troops lately sent thither for the purpose. Lord Ellenborough, who received a visit at Ferozepore from the son and prime minister of Shere Singh, and who then sent his secretary and other official persons to Lahore to return it, has broken up the camp at Ferozepore and proceeded to Delhi, in order to have an explanation respecting certain intrigues with the old Emperor and present shadow of the Grand Mogul. It is stated that his lordship contemplates fixing his official residence for some time at Agra, or perhaps Meerut.

Nothing certain appears to have been known of the state of affairs at Cabul.

The intelligence from Scinde is to the effect that the Ameers, whose doubtful policy and intriguing conduct had during some weeks kept up the alternation of war and peace, have been influenced by the presence of Major Outram, with whom they are all personally acquainted, to enter into terms, which will, it is expected, establish a system of good intelligence between them and the government of India. One of the youths of their family had attempted, by flying to a fort in a desert district, to baffle the intentions of the British commander, Sir C. Napier, but a force had been despatched, which soon obliged him to quit the fort which was then destroyed.

The attention of the Indian government is directed towards its finances. The extra company added last year to each Indian regiment has been ordered to be abolished, and the men are to be absorbed into the army, whereby a diminution of 18,000 men will be effected, and a consequent saving of expenditure will accrue. The prospects of India are considered as satisfactory, and attention is now directed towards its internal improvement. An act has been proposed in the legislative council which tends to put a final stop to all descriptions of slavery in its extensive districts.

It appears that the gates of the temple of Somnauth had reached the bridge at the Sutlej, under an escort of volunteers from the 2nd regiment of grenadiers. They were met by the Governor-general, and sundry rajahs and princes of Sirhind.

#### AMERICA.

During the past week there have been three arrivals from the United States, all packet ships. They have brought news down to the 20th ult, being thirteen days later than was received last week.

The bill for enforcing the rights of the United States to the exclusive possession of the Oregon territory had, it will be recollected, passed the Senate. A motion was afterwards made that the bill be re-considered. The Senate divided on the motion, when the vote was 24 to 24. So the original vote was not re-considered from the want of a majority. The bill was then sent to the House of Representatives. In the house, on the 9th ult., a motion was made to refer the bill to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, which was rejected. A second was made to refer it to the committee on military affairs, and was also rejected. The bill was finally referred to the committee on foreign relations, of which Mr Adams is chairman. This reference was generally considered as fatal to the bill, at least for the present session, a majority of the committee being reported to be hostile to its main principles. Another bill for the occupation and set-



tlement of the Oregon territory, which had originated in the house of Representatives, and been referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, was also referred to the committee on foreign affairs. Mr. Adams, from the committee of foreign affairs in the House, has reported against both bills for the occupation and settlement of the Oregon territory. The reports were referred to the committee of the whole.

Another subject appears to absorb the attention of Congress—the States' debts. The subject was almost a daily topic of debate, resolution after resolution being moved, some for and some against assumption. The question on Mr. Rive's resolutions was taken on the 18th ult., when it was resolved by a vote of 25 to 22, that the subject should lie over to the first Monday in December. Mr. McDuffie then moved a resolution that the government of the United States had no constitutional power to assume the debts contracted by the States for their own proper purposes, by the issue of stock, whatever fund may be pledged for the payment of the interest or principal. The resolution was ordered to lie over for a day, and the proposition was afterwards rejected by a majority of one. The President had addressed a message to Congress, stating that the government would be unable to pay its expenses for the next fiscal year, and calling upon the House to make provision for the public service; this will cause an extra session to be held.

The correspondent of the *Chronicle* has the following in relation to the earthquake:—

"Several singular particulars have transpired in relation to the supposed earthquake. Between St. Louis and the Ohio, portions of the bottom of the river Mississippi have literally fallen out, or, at least sunk to a depth not yet fathomed. On a farm in Illinois, a hole has appeared in the ground filled with steaming mud, from which a sulphurous vapour issues that is easily ignited. Sometimes an inflammable gas, flashing with flame, and emitting smoke, also proceeds from it. In several places, patches of the forest near the Mississippi have sunk down and become swampy lakes, in some cases taking hunters down into the abyss."

Late accounts from Canada stated that Sir C. Bagot was beyond recovery. Dropsy had set in, and he had been given up by his medical attendants. The Canadian parliament was prorogued from the 4th Feb. to 18th March, but was not then expected to meet for the dispatch of business.

An arrival from Hayti had brought intelligence that an insurrection had broken out in the southern part of the island.

Letters had been received from the American consul at Tahiti, one of the Society islands, dated Sept. 11, which stated that the French admiral, Dupetit Thouars, arrived there on the 8th, and made a demand on the Tahitians of the sum of 10,000 dollars, in reparation for abuses, and as a guarantee for their future adherence to the treaties. A negotiation was commenced, which ended in the surrender of the island to France. The Queen had, however, refused to sign a treaty to that effect.

Accounts from Texas were expressive of the alarm felt in the new republic of an attack from Mexico.

#### SPAIN.

By advices from Madrid to the 4th inst., we learn that the elections of that capital were over, and terminated in favour of ministers. The seven candidates and three substitutes to Congress, set up by their friends, and the four senators and two substitutes, were returned by a majority of from 1,553 to 1,874. The opposition candidate foremost on the list, M. Garcia Villareal, only counted 505 votes, and none of the other candidates obtained more than 280.

The electoral returns hitherto received from the provinces indicated that the ministry would probably obtain the majority in 24, and the opposition in 17, colleges. Those of five others were doubtful, but as the greatest number of returns was still to come in, no decided opinion could be given as to the probable result of the elections. The candidates recommended by the friends of the Infante Don Francisco de Paula had not obtained more than 24 votes at Saragossa.

The affair of Barcelona was considered to be anything but settled between France and Spain. Many believed that there was but one alternative left, in order to adjust the difference—namely, the recall of M. Lesseps, as the Spanish government was determined on withdrawing his *exequatur* if that satisfaction was denied by France. Such was said to have been the opinion expressed by Mr. Aston, who insisted on Spain showing the same firmness towards France which she displayed towards England in the question of the British consuls at Carthage and Havannah, who were sacrificed by the latter to prove her good-will to Spain.

#### FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

**BRAZIL.**—In addition to the information recently received from this country to the 21st of January, the packet Ranger has brought the further intelligence of an entire change of ministry, which had taken place on the 21st, the day preceding the packet's departure; the new appointments being, for justice and foreign affairs—L. Honório H. Carneiro Leão; home—José Antonio da Silva Maia; marine—Jonquim José da Silva Torres; war—Marshal Salvador José Maciel; the minister of finance had not yet been announced, but it was rumoured that Senor Vianna would be nominated to that office; and it was further generally thought that this cabinet would be much more favourably disposed to listen to Mr. Ellis's proposals for a renewed treaty with England. The envoy's position was considered as much improved by the change.

From the Argentine republic we learn that General Rosas was following up his recent successes against the Montevideans, by marching on their capital, and it was the general opinion that unless met by English or French intervention he would overcome all opposition to the taking of the city.

**THE PRESS IN GERMANY.**—A cabinet order has just been inserted in the *Prussian State Gazette*, accompanied by fresh instructions to the censors of the press, which are of the most rigorous description. The instructions are so loosely worded that they give to the secret police an absolute control over all that can be written on political subjects in the kingdom. The censor is directed to take into consideration not only the contents of what is submitted to him, but its tone and tendency; and this tendency may be either open or concealed.

**PORT-AU-PRINCE.**—We are requested to state that the individual losses supposed to have been sustained by the houses at Port-au-Prince by the late conflagration, have been overstated and are erroneous; and, from subsequent advices, they are found to be very far short of the amount stated. The advices by the *Fergus*, arrived from Port-au-Prince, afford gratifying intelligence, inasmuch as they state that the ruins occasioned by the conflagration were being cleared away—that the sufferers were in good spirits—that means were being taken to re-erect the buildings—and that trade was reviving.—*Chronicle*.

**NEW ZEALAND.**—Intelligence from Port Nicholson in New Zealand, to the 5th October, announces the death of Governor Hobson, at Auckland, on the 10th September, of paralysis. The papers account for much of his unpopular and impolitic conduct by the impaired state of his health in his later years. His death is supposed to have removed the great impediment to a satisfactory settlement of many disputes with the government, of which the influence had extended to this country. Mr. Willoughby Shortland, the colonial secretary, had assumed the interim administration, and had begun it with some popular acts.

**THE EARTHQUAKE IN THE WEST INDIES.**—The *Acteon* brings additional information of the melancholy intelligence, received on the 4th instant. Distressing as are the accounts from the different islands, it is pleasing to know that the sacrifice of human life has been comparatively trifling, though the injury has been most serious to churches and other public buildings, both civil and military, to dwelling houses, sugar mills, &c., more particularly at Antigua, where the largest amount—eight lives were lost; at Montserrat, five; and at St. Christopher, two. At St. Thomas's and Nevis, it appeared, no deaths had occurred. No positive news had been obtained, either from Guadeloupe, Dominico, St. Eustatia, Martinique, or St. Lucia, though it was thought they must have each come in for their share of the calamity. The governors, members of council, and principal inhabitants of the different islands were actively employing all their exertions to meet the exigencies occasioned by the deplorable catastrophe, but it was much feared the crops would for the most part perish, from the sugar-houses, mills, and machinery, being destroyed to so frightful an extent. The following is a summary of the report:—

**ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.**—On landing at the town of Basseterre we found that the earthquake here had produced the most disastrous results—lives lost, fallen houses, tottering walls, &c. Three women were washing clothes in a stream, surrounded on either side by a high ridge of rocks; the rocks were split asunder, and, tumbling down upon them, crushed them almost to pieces. The walls of the church were cracked, and the gable so shattered that the prisoners had to be removed. Indeed, there is scarcely a stone or brick building but has sustained more or less damage. The estates in the country had also suffered severely, especially in the north-east, or windward quarter. The dwelling-house, boiling-house, &c., of Bevan island estate, situated on a cliff overhanging a ravine, have been fairly pitched into the ravine and shattered to atoms. At Sandypoint an orifice had been opened in the earth, out of which sprung fumes of sulphureous vapour for some time after. It was stated as a singular coincidence, that exactly that day ten years, in the evening, a similar shock had been felt, though not quite so severe. The loss of property was estimated to be above £100,000 sterling. The *St. Christopher Advertiser* thus describes the event:—

"It would be difficult to say from what quarter the shock was experienced, for walls have been thrown down in every kind of position and direction. On its approach, it conveyed the impression that the motion came immediately from under our feet, striking up in a perpendicular direction. The shock commenced with a gentle throbbing, attended with a hissing in the air; which, as the severity of the convulsion increased, resembled more a rush of tempest accompanied by the usual rumbling noise from the earth. When at its climax, the frightful sounds occasioned by the cracking of houses and the crush of walls—by the falling and breaking of furniture—by the crash of crockery and glass—added to the screams of women and children, and the already terrific noise of the earthquake itself—began all description."

**NEVIS.** From St. Kitt's we proceeded to Nevis, and here again a scene of ruin and destruction met our view. We learned that the shock had been felt at the same minute as in St. Kitt's and St. Thomas's, and that the clocks had stopped at the same time. The force of the shock here seemed to have been expended in a direction from south-west to north-east, and was supposed to have destroyed property to the amount of from £40,000 to £50,000 sterling, but fortunately no lives were lost. The greater part of the court-house is a mass of rubbish, but a small portion is still standing. One singular circumstance which occurred here deserves to be noted, as seeming to indicate that the shock consisted of twenty distinct undulating or vibratory movements of the earth. A sloop placed upon the stocks to be repaired, was supported on either side by wooden props. After the earthquake had subsided, it was observed by a black man at first that the sloop had moved a little from its former position; and, on examination, he was surprised to find that one of the props on the south side had successively shifted its position, and left twenty distinct indentations or marks upon the side of the vessel.

**ANTIGUA.**—Melancholy and disastrous as the consequences had been to the other islands, they were but as dust in the balance when compared with the ravages it had inflicted upon this. The earth heaved and undulated like the waves of the sea; rocks were riven in pieces; houses and buildings of every kind were rocked to and fro like cradles; and men reeled and staggered in the streets and fields as if intoxicated, or standing upon the

deck of a rolling vessel. The scene in the town of St. John's baffles all description; houses leveled with the ground, clouds of dust ascending from them and thickening the atmosphere, the crash of falling walls, the smashing of floors and furniture, men, women, and children rushing from the houses screaming and shrieking, and the groans of the dying commingled with the low rumbling noise of the earthquake itself, altogether presented a scene of terror and alarm which language fails to portray. Five minutes before and the sun poured down its fervent flood of light o'er a scene of quiet industry and placid beauty; now he shone o'er one of wreck and ruin, devastation and death. Eight lives have unfortunately been lost, but their names I could not ascertain. There is scarcely a mill left standing in the whole island, nor a set of sugar works but is either destroyed or so damaged that they are rendered useless for the present. Every church and chapel either laid prostrate or so damaged that it is dangerous to approach or enter them, except the Moravian chapel, which was a wooden one. The old fine cathedral, which has stood the brunt of time for 150 years, has had the roof so twisted upon the walls, and is otherwise so injured, that it threatens to fall. The tower, court-house, public arsenal, police office, lunatic asylum, gaol, barracks, custom-house, and indeed every public building in the island, except, I believe, the government house, has sustained serious damage. At English harbour the damage done is immense. A man belonging to the dockyard stated to me that "no hammock could swing more furiously than the houses did here" during the shock. Some of the sailors who were on the wharf were so alarmed by the ground sinking underneath them, that they jumped into the water to escape being swallowed up. At Dowhill house, above English harbour, where Sir C. Fitzroy, the governor, and his family were residing at the time, the walls are cracked and rent in different parts. None of the family sustained any personal injury. The little town of Falmouth has also suffered severely. In this place, as a person expressed it to me, "the very graves were turned inside out," some of the coffins having been absolutely pitched up out of their dark and narrow cells. The *Antigua Herald* says—

"The immense loss of property occasioned by this visitation, will require several millions of pounds sterling to replace. Indeed, when the great length of time it will require to replace the wind-mills, engine-houses, and sugar works, that have been demolished or otherwise deteriorated, shall have been considered, it will be evident that the present most luxuriant and large quantity of canes which crown the fields will unavoidably be sacrificed for want of mills to grind and sugar works to manufacture the present bountiful standing crops. We are persuaded that many years will elapse before Antigua will recover the prosperous position from which she has been dislodged by the adverse occurrence to which we have but briefly and very imperfectly adverted. Indeed, we are at present at a loss to conceive the means by which the cultivation of the island can possibly be resumed or continued without the liberal assistance of the parent state."

**MONTSERRAT, GUADALOUPE, &c.**—Soon after the shock at Antigua, the Governor despatched the man-of-war schooner Griffin to Montserrat to obtain intelligence of the event there, and the captain informed me that this island had also sustained considerable damage; and that five lives had been lost. No accurate intelligence had arrived respecting Guadeloupe, but the captain of a merchant vessel reported that he was sailing near the coast at the time, and saw clouds of dust and smoke, &c., ascend from it; that he could discern the people running out of their houses and dropping on their knees. Indeed, I have all along suspected, and still do suspect, that in Guadeloupe will be found the *fontes et origo mali*, and that some dreadful explosion or eruption has occurred there amongst its slumbering volcanoes. From Dominica, Martinique, or St. Lucia, nothing had been heard, though it is to be feared they also have suffered, especially Dominica, from its proximity to the apparent centre of the commotion in the earth, which I conceive to be about Guadeloupe or Antigua. Its occurrence at this particular period of the year renders the calamity doubly distressing. The sugar making season had just commenced; the canes were either cut or about being cut, and prepared for the crushing mill; but they may now lie and rot, for their mills are dismantled, their steam engines disabled, and their boiling houses either leveled with the ground or unfitted for use.

**DREADFUL EARTHQUAKE AT GUADALOUPE.**—In addition to the above painful intelligence, the Paris papers of Sunday contain an account of the destruction of the town of Pointe-à-Pitre and other places in Guadeloupe, and of an immense loss of life by the earthquake. The following is a portion of a despatch from the Governor-general, dated Feb. 9.

"Pointe-à-Pitre is entirely destroyed. What was spared by the earthquake has since perished by fire, which burst out a few minutes after the houses fell. I am writing in the midst of the ruins of this unfortunate city, in presence of a population without food and without asylum, in the midst of the wounded, of whom the number is considerable (it is said from 1,500 to 1,800!). The dead are still under the ruins, and their number is calculated at several thousands. The fire is still raging. All the quarters of the colony have suffered. The town of Moule has been destroyed, and thirty persons are dead. The small towns of St. Frances, St. Anne, Port Louis, Bertrand, and St. Rose, have been overturned, and in all there are dead and wounded. I implore in favour of the inhabitants of Guadeloupe that inexhaustible goodness which, from the throne, pours forth so many benefits! I implore all France to stretch forth an aiding hand to us, as she has already done to Martinique. She will not abandon this population, entirely French, nor leave to wretchedness the widows and orphans whom this terrible disaster has overwhelmed. I shall speedily send you such details as I shall be able to collect. I fear that the sugar crop will be lost, for the mills are all destroyed. Famine stares us in the face; prompt succour is absolutely necessary. Joinville has much suffered; Petit-Bourg is destroyed."

The *Commerce* has a letter from Martinique, dated the 14th ult., from which we take the following:—

"On the 8th, the day of the catastrophe which reduced Pointe-à-Pitre to a heap of ruins and ashes, I was going towards the Savannah, about 20 minutes past 10 o'clock, in order to reach the palace, when I heard cries of distress issuing from every side of me. The people rushed from their houses, the women carrying their children in their arms, all hurrying to the open promenade. I then felt the earth tremble under my feet, and began to hasten my own steps. The shocks continued with increased violence for nearly two minutes; but, fortunately, there was no vertical movement, which would have inevitably



thrown down our houses, as in 1839. We soon ascertained that our town remained uninjured, but the old and experienced inhabitants soon decided that what they felt was only the tail of an earthquake, and that we should shortly hear of some great disaster at one or more of the neighbouring islands. This prediction was verified on the 9th by letters from Basseterre, which made us acquainted with the total destruction of the finest city of the Antilles. Our Governor and Admiral de Moges proceeded to take measures for the relief of the suffering inhabitants of Point-à-Pitre. The Admiral on the same day sailed for Guadeloupe, followed by the steam-frigate Gomer, sent by the Governor. They took with them linen, medicines, provisions, and stores of all kinds, and several surgeons. The inhabitants of St Pierre despatched them a large collection of similar supplies and money. The first person who has arrived at Fort Royal from the afflicted island is an old retired captain, aged 72, who escaped as by a miracle. He was buried in the ruins, and there remained for more than an hour. He states that, at the moment after the shock, fires broke out, and consumed much that it had spared. In this additional calamity the hospital was included; such of the patients as were able made their escape, but many were burnt alive with the building. No calculation can yet be made of the number of the killed, but it is estimated at one-third of the population. The best built, and consequently the richest quarter of the town, has suffered most, and it is said that the elite of the inhabitants have perished. We are told that, at the moment of the earthquake, upwards of 200 people were assembled at the Café Americain, to witness the drawing of a lottery for a small vessel, and none escaped. Of the detachment of the 1st regiment of marines quartered at Point-à-Pitre, only four men were killed, and one of the captains was slightly wounded. Some wretches took advantage of the dire confusion to plunder. At first, they were said to be negroes, led on by a man of colour, but this it has since appeared was an error, and that the unfeeling robbers were all sailors; some say Americans, headed by their captain, all of whom have been arrested and confined in the hold of some ship. I have just learned the return of the Gomer, which the Governor is on the point of sending off to France. On her arrival at Point-à-Pitre, the steam-frigate found the town almost entirely evacuated, and no one of authority to receive the provisions and money she had brought from Martinique. She carried 150 wounded to Basseterre, where they received all the aid their condition required. It was found necessary to amputate both the legs of one young lady, an operation which she bore with truly Christian fortitude, and she will, it is hoped, recover. When the frigate left the island Point-à-Pitre was still burning. A great number of bodies had been got out of the ruins, and carried by a schooner into the channel of the Saintes, where they received a watery grave. The site of the town had become pestilential, and every one fled from it."

The *Moniteur Parisien* says:—"The calamity was increased by the occurrence of a vast fire. Two thousand bodies are said to have been dug out of the ruins, and it was reckoned that there was an equal number of wounded. At the moment when the account left, 500 persons had undergone amputation, and died after the operation."

The *Patrie* states that most of the houses, and more than fifty sugar establishments, were destroyed.

## DOMESTIC.

## METROPOLITAN.

**WEEKLY MEETING OF THE LEAGUE.**—On Thursday evening the usual weekly meeting of the League took place at the Freemasons' tavern, Great Queen street. The large hall of the tavern was completely filled, and hundreds went away unable to obtain admission. The utmost enthusiasm was manifested in the proceedings. George Wilson, Esq., chairman of the League, presided. He apologised for the alteration of the time and place of meeting on that occasion, which had arisen in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining a room of sufficient dimensions for their meetings. He then gave some information as to their future place of meeting, and the progress of the cause.

He had, however, to announce that their next weekly meeting would take place in Drury lane theatre [cheers], the proprietors of which spacious structure had acceded, in the most handsome manner, to the application of the Council of the League, and until Easter, or until Mr Villiers's motion should come before the House of Commons, the weekly meetings of the League would be held in the great theatre which he had mentioned [loud cheers]. The Chairman went on to state that, since their last meeting, the council of the League had issued upwards of four or five tons in weight of tracts [hear]. They were put in circulation in all parts of the country. A meeting had been held, since the last great meeting of the League, in the Music hall, in Store street, and upwards of £140 had been subscribed there for the League fund [cheers]. Another great meeting had also been held in the Hanover square rooms, from which hundreds went away unable to obtain admission. Arrangements had been made for a deputation of the League proceeding next week to Southampton, Bath, Bristol, Exeter, and he believed, Stroud, and similar arrangements were in preparation for every week of the ensuing month [loud cheers]. At the last weekly meeting he had presented to Mr Cobden an address upon the late memorable occasion signed by 32,000 of the people of Manchester [hear, hear]. He had then said that he thought it would be strange if many similar addresses did not pour in, and he found that since he had said so, addresses had been received by the honourable gentleman from Huddersfield, signed by 1,174 of the inhabitants; from Kendal, signed by 900, including the Mayor and common council; from Carlisle, signed by 3,239; and from Wigan, signed by 4,088 of the inhabitants. Addresses had also been received from Slaford, near Edinburgh; from a public meeting held at Liverpool; from the Young Men's Antimonopoly association; and from public meetings held in different parts of London. An address had likewise been received from the magistrates of Hawick, signed with the corporation seal. Another from the working men of Manchester; and addresses from the associations of the League at Sheffield, at Glasgow, at Yeovil, at Sunderland, at Mitcham, at Brentford, and various other places, had been also received.

Mr Rawson of Liverpool, Mr Milner Gibson, and Dr Bowring, afterwards addressed the meeting.

**LITERARY FUND SOCIETY.**—At the anniversary meeting it was stated, that during the past year the sum of £1,255 had been given as relief to distressed literary men, their wives and children. The amount distributed in 1841 was £785. A letter was read from the Russian ambassador, announcing that the Emperor of Russia appreciated the objects of the institution, and presented it with 1,000 silver rubles (about £155).

**MORE TREASURE.**—On Tuesday, five more waggon, escorted by a strong party of the 10th regiment, arrived at the Mint, from the Southampton railway, with twenty tons more of the Chinese silver, in value 750,000 dollars. It was brought by the Columbine, which arrived at Portsmouth on Saturday. It was deposited in the same bullion storehouse as that in which the consignment brought by the Modeste is placed, making in all nearly 2,000,000 dollars. The greatest bustle now exists in that institution, consequent upon the arrival of this immense quantity of silver; and it is expected that in the course of the week they will have stored the 1,000,000 on board the Herald, and the 3,000,000 in the Blonde, which vessels are at present detained in the Channel.

**THE INFLUENZA.**—A contagious complaint is now very prevalent in the metropolis, which is very severely felt by the police and others exposed to the weather, particularly during the night. It attacks first the mucous membranes of the stomach and lungs, and produces general debility, accompanied with great depression of strength and numbness of the limbs. The best treatment is purgatives and diaphoretics in the early stage of the complaint. The disorder is very prevalent among the poorer classes. The *Times* says the Fever hospital is so crowded that the resident medical officer is daily under the necessity of sending away several persons brought for admission.

**MR DILLON'S CASE.**—In the postscript of our last number we stated that a warrant had been issued for the apprehension of a person named Dillon, for threatening the life of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr Dillon was found in Whitecross street Debtor's prison; and the governor was instructed to detain him under the warrant. On Wednesday, he wrote a letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, amply apologising for his threats, which he palliated by a reference to his sufferings and privations; entreating that if his claim were not settled, at least his expenses and the sum he had lost from his profession might be paid, as the charge of cowardice had been abandoned; and requesting that Mr Goulburn would state to the House of Commons his admission of the acquittal.

**THREATENING TO SHOOT THE QUEEN AND SIR R. PEEL.**—At six o'clock on Thursday evening a man, having a Scotch dialect, wearing moustachios, who arrived by the Gazelle steam packet, Captain Hurst, from Hull, was given into the custody of the city police by Captain Hurst, in consequence of his having stated, during the voyage, that he was going to London for the purpose of having an interview with Sir R. Peel, to whom he had written several times, but had received no answer; and that considering the Queen (in consequence of her sex) to be an improper person to rule a nation, he was determined to put a stop to it. He appears collected upon all other matters, but violent when speaking of Sir R. Peel or the Queen. Upon searching him a bundle of papers was found, which contained writings upon religious and political matters. Information of the above facts was immediately despatched to Sir R. Peel, and the man was held in custody. On Friday he was examined before the Lord Mayor, and the following was the result:—

Lord Mayor: What is your name?—Prisoner: James Stevenson. I am 32 years of age. I am a native of Renfrewshire. I am a weaver; but done little in that business for three years past.—What have you been doing the last three years?—I have been studying the Bible and the Greek Testament and other works.—Did you belong to any society?—No. I left the church of Scotland in consequence of the differences which existed.—What brought you to London?—To see Sir R. Peel, in hopes that some union in the church might be accomplished.—The Lord Mayor then asked several questions as to the route the prisoner came to London, which he answered in rather an incoherent manner. He was sure that he was at Manchester, but he could not say where he stopped at. He walked from Manchester to Hull, but did not know how many days he was doing it. When he left Scotland he had only one guinea in his pocket; had never been in London before.—Lord Mayor: What did you mean to say to Sir Robert Peel?—That is still dark to me; but I should certainly ask him to dissolve the union, and protect the true religion, which, as a servant of Christ, he is bound to do. And, said the prisoner, holding up his hands, "as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord."—How did you think of supporting yourself in London?—By living sparingly. I intended to go to Sir R. Peel's as soon as I found out where he lived. If I had not been able to see him I should have gone back again. I have traveled to many places to find out true men.—Do you wish to see the Queen?—Yes; I should like to see her very well, and to see what height she is. I must think no woman ought to sit on the throne, as the scripture says—"Woman, obey your husband in all things;" and therefore there ought to be a king on the throne.—The prisoner then proceeded, in a most incoherent manner, to quote passages of scripture.—Are you a married man?—Yes. Mother knew that I was coming to London. I had never been away before.—John Hewitt said he lived at Hull. When the prisoner booked his place to come to London, he said no woman ought to take the reins of government, that the Queen must be destroyed, and a man must be placed on the throne.—Prisoner: Yes; I said if she would not resign her office she must be destroyed, by so doing he was only doing God's will.—Witness: Prisoner on the passage said, if Sir R. Peel would not dissolve the union, he must be destroyed,

and he was determined to do it.—Prisoner: Yes; and it is not only my duty to destroy Sir R. Peel, but it is also the duty of every Englishman to assist me.—Lord Mayor: Who have you been hearing preach of late?—Prisoner: Oh, no one. There is no one in Scotland able to expound the scriptures now. When I go back to Scotland I intend to expound the scriptures, and expose the malignity of the human race. Captain J. Hurst stated that he was captain of the Gazelle. The prisoner came on board at Hull; he said he was going a long passage to see Sir R. Peel and the Queen—he was determined to see them. I asked him how he thought of seeing them? He replied, "There is plenty of people who will point them out to me, and I am determined not to leave London without finishing them."—Prisoner: Yes, that is true; I want to lay the axe to the root of the tree.

After some further questions, his lordship remanded the prisoner until this day week, directing that he should be placed in the infirmary of the Compter; not to mix with the other prisoners. As the prisoner was leaving the bar, he wished to have a bible restored, which had been taken from him. He was then conveyed to the Compter.

## PROVINCIAL.

**THE INCOME TAX.**—We understand that the assessments on property and profits of trade within the parish of Liverpool (excluding the out-townships included in the parliamentary borough) amount to the sum of £2,000,000 sterling. The tax laid on property and trade, at 7d. in the pound, will thus produce a sum of not less than £120,000 for Liverpool alone. We hear that the assessments on property and profits of trade in Manchester amount to pretty nearly the same sum as in Liverpool—namely, £2,000,000 sterling.—*Liverpool Albion*.

**ASHBURTON ELECTION.**—The nomination of candidates for Ashburton, in the room of Mr Jardine, took place yesterday week; the candidates being Mr Matheson, a liberal, of the late firm of Jardine, Matheson, and Co.; and Mr Horsley Palmer, a conservative. The show of hands was in favour of Mr Palmer; and a poll was demanded for his antagonist. At its close on Wednesday, the numbers were—for Matheson, 141; Palmer, 96; majority, 45.

**THE NORTH WARWICKSHIRE ELECTION.**—Mr Newdigate was elected on Saturday, without opposition, to the seat which had been rendered vacant in the representation of North Warwickshire, by the appointment of Sir E. Wilmot to the governorship of Van Diemen's land. The honourable gentleman was put in nomination by Mr Adderley, and seconded by the Hon. J. Hewett.

**KNARESBOROUGH.**—A great majority of the electors, embracing every shade of political party, have signed a requisition, calling upon Messrs Lawson and Busfield Ferrand to vote in favour of Mr Villiers's motion on the corn laws, and support the principles of free trade.

**REBECCA AND HER DAUGHTERS.**—On Monday, "Rebecca and followers appeared at Plaindealings and Cotts gates, in the neighbourhood of Narberth. It is said that the party mustered about 100 strong, and in each instance the gates were completely demolished in the short space of ten minutes. The Pembrokeshire grand jury have found a true bill for felony against Thomas and David Howell, two of "Rebecca's Daughters."—*Welshman*.

**STATE OF TRADE.**—Some little improvement has manifested itself in the Manchester market during the past week, and a slight advance has taken place on some qualities of goods. In the neighbouring districts, though there is here and there a better prospect, great depression still prevails, especially in the cotton trade of Padiham and Burnley. The hand-loom weavers are in painfully distressed circumstances. At Leeds trade remains in the same unsatisfactory condition, and, in the latter place, the continued depression has been followed among the glove manufacturers by a reduction in wages. The accounts from Huddersfield and Bradford are of a more cheering description.

## THE CHARTISTS' TRIALS.

Tuesday.

On Tuesday the Attorney-general signified his intention not to proceed upon the last two counts, but thought it necessary to retain the sixth and seventh. Mr Atherton then addressed the jury on behalf of the defendants, James Fenton and William Stephenson, who chiefly insisted on the peaceful character and agitation of the chartist body. Mr M'Oubrey next addressed the jury for the defendants Mooney, Thornton, and Aitkin, but the Attorney-general had withdrawn the prosecution as against Thornton; he was therefore acquitted. One of the most constant objections to the prosecution was the lumping together of fifty-nine prisoners in one indictment. This was held to be injurious to each, increasing the difficulties of all, as many of them, undefended by counsel, ought to analyse the mass of evidence which it had taken five days to bring before the court. When the counsel had ceased, several of the defendants addressed the jury in person. They were George Julian Harney, Samuel Parks, Richard Otley, Richard Pilling, Bernard Macartney, C. Doyle, W. Beesley, J. Bairstow, — Wolfenden, and James Leech. The addresses of — Storer, John Allanson, and George Johnston, were cut short by the announcement that the case against them was abandoned. Harney argued that he could not be guilty of conspiracy with persons whom he had never known; which was the case with almost all of the prisoners, whom he had first seen in prison; and he said that he had actually prevented a strike in Sheffield. Parks, a local preacher, entered into an account of his life, to prove the improbability of a charge of violence. He was interrupted by a juror, who asked "if the jury should pay particular attention to all that was said by the defendants?—most of the speeches of the last two defendants were filled



with irrelevant matter." Mr O'Connor wished the judge to take a note of the question; and Mr M'Oubrey thought that it ought to be noticed. Baron Rolfe forbade comments on the question; but remarked, that such an application had never been made to him before. Pilling, a hand-loom weaver, dwelt much and strongly on the injury done to his class by machinery and the factory system. Leech met the charge, that the defendants had produced discontent, by pointing to the distress notoriously existing beforehand, which he also attributed to the increased introduction of machinery. After his defence the court adjourned.

#### Wednesday.

At the sitting of the court Mr O'Connor began his defence. It contained nothing remarkable, nor made any astounding disclosures as to the conduct of the Anti-corn-law League. He concluded by an appeal on the score of self-sacrifice.

He declared that he had devoted his life to the people's cause, and spent 12,000*l.* in their service: he came to the *Northern Star* a rich man, and it had made him a poor one. He had sold the timber off his estates to serve the people. He had acted as a pacificator. He said the Attorney-general was only anxious to catch him (Mr O'Connor), and had artfully contrived his indictment for that purpose; but he left the case with confidence in the hands of the jury.

Various witnesses were then called, corroborating the defence, generally testifying to the peaceful conduct of the turn-outs, and proving Mr O'Connor's disinterestedness. Among those who affirmed the absence of violence were Sir T. Potter, Alderman Chappel, and James Kershaw, Esq., mayor of Manchester. The Attorney-general replied in a speech which occupied two hours; and at the close, his lordship said he should sum up on the following morning.

#### Thursday.

Baron Rolfe commenced his charge to the jury at nine o'clock, and did not conclude till half-past four. It was characterised by great impartiality and moderation. In laying down the law of indictment, the learned judge was remarkably perspicuous. No new points were mooted. The only noticeable observation made by him in connexion with this part of the trial was, that there could not be a greater absurdity than the idea entertained by some of the defendants that the present prosecution was directed against chartist principles.

The trial concluded at eight o'clock, the result being as follows:—Guilty on the fourth count of the indictment—Christopher Doyle, James Leach, P. M. McDouall, John Campbell, Jonathan Bairstow, Bernard Macartney, James Arthur, Thomas Cooper, Robert Brooke, John Leach, David Morrison, George Candalet, John Derham, Joseph Fenton, James Mooney, and Frederick Augustus Taylor. Guilty on the fifth count—Feargus O'Connor, William Hill, Richard Ottley, George Julien Harney, John Arran, John Skevington, Sandie Challenger, John Hoyle, John Norman, William Beesley, Samuel Parkes, Thomas Raitton, Robert Ramsden, William Woodruffe, and William Aitken. Not guilty—James Scholefield, Wm Scholefield, John Wilde, Thos Pitt, John Allason, Robert Johnson, David Ross, James Taylor, John Clarke, John Nussey, John Fletcher, T. B. Smith, Thos Fraser, James Geasley, James Chippendale, John Lomax, Richard Pilling, Wm Stephenson, John Crossley, Alfred Woolfenden, Robert Lees, John Lewis, Patrick Murphy Brophy, Thomas Mahon, Thos Stoner, and Wm Booth.

Judgment will, it is expected, be deferred until next term.

It will now remain to be decided in the court of Queen's Bench, as to Mr O'Connor, and those who, with him, have been convicted on the fifth count, whether it be a breach of the law to combine for the purpose of persuading the people to abstain from work, for the purpose of procuring any political changes, no violence or intimidation being recommended.

Thomas Cooper, the leader of the Shaksperian chartists, will, we are informed, surrender himself to the authorities at Stafford, on Monday next, to await his trial. It is rumoured that he will be tried on another charge of arson; but as we have seen no official notice to confirm the report, we cannot state whether it is correct or not. Mr Cooper has been delivering farewell addresses to his Shaksperians during the week, in the course of which he pointed out the errors through which the chartist agitation had failed, particularising their late coalition with the Tories as the greatest; and making some startling confessions as to the secretly avowed intentions of the chartists to employ physical force to obtain the charter, notwithstanding their public advocacy of moral force.—*Leicestershire Mercury*.

**EXTRAORDINARY RAILWAY ACCIDENT.**—On Wednesday an inquest was held at Stratford, on view of the body of Thomas Maitland, aged 40, a police constable, in the service of the Eastern Counties Railway company. The following is a portion of the evidence of James Horn, who had charge of the points where the line joins the Northern and Eastern railway:—

"At about four or five minutes before the first morning Eastern Counties down train was due at this spot, the deceased came across to me to get the correct time by my watch, his own watch being out of order. I fancied that there was something strange in his manner. He appeared dull and in deep thought. While the deceased was talking to me the train came in sight. He saw it as soon as I did, but did not attempt to go across to his box, which was where he ought to have been, for the purpose of exhibiting the proper signal. I said to him, the train will be here before you can reach your post. He then left me, but instead of at once crossing the rails to the north side (which was the proper way for him to go), he went very leisurely along the south line for some distance. He then got into the space between the two lines, and although the alarm-whistle was constantly

blown, he did not in the slightest degree increase his speed. The engine-driver shut off his steam, and was not going at more than from three to four miles an hour when he passed the junction. When the engine had arrived within about two yards of the deceased, he very slowly stepped in between the rails upon which the train was traveling, and did not appear to me to make the slightest effort to get out of the danger. He was knocked several yards in front of the engine, and thrown across the metals. I saw the wheel pass over his neck, and completely sever his head from his body. I am convinced he was perfectly sober, but his manner was very odd. He might have gone over the ground several times before the train reached him, had he made any exertion. On his way to his box the deceased looked over his shoulder just as the engine got up to him, and he then stopped right before it. I never saw anything strange in the deceased's manner on any former occasion."

After further but similar evidence, the Coroner remarked that, under all the circumstances, he thought it impossible to come to any other verdict than that of accidental death. The jury, in delivering the verdict suggested, namely "Accidental death," begged that their approbation of the conduct of the engine-driver and guards on the unhappy occasion might be recorded.

**SILK ROBBERIES.**—During the last two or three years a number of silk warehouses in Manchester and neighbourhood have been broken into and robbed of goods, the entire amount of which, is said to have exceeded £10,000 value. These robberies have been so ingeniously planned and executed as to have defied the utmost vigilance of the police either to trace the goods or the thieves at the time, and not the slightest information on the subject, has till very lately been obtained. About a fortnight ago, however, it was rumoured that parties were connected with these robberies who stood higher in the world than the police had ventured to look—that they had been planned and effected at the instance, in fact, of master silk manufacturers and dyers. It was said that these parties entering the warehouses of different merchants and tradesmen, in the way of business, had thus the means, in the day time, without suspicion attaching to them, of observing the fastenings of doors and getting to know the situation of the most valuable or most suitable goods for their purpose; that they then laid their plans and submitted these plans to workmen in their employ—journeymen housebreakers—by whom the robberies were effected; that the goods so stolen were mostly yarns, which, on being brought to them, were immediately consigned to the dye-tub, and that thus, with the change of colour, the possibility of detection was removed. The rumour is said to have reached the police, and has since been traced to the letter of a convict lately received from him by his parents. What the precise language of the letter is remains at present a secret, but it appears that the parties to whom it refers had in contemplation, besides their present plundering transactions, a scheme for swindling on a most extensive scale, from the effects of which the mercantile community will probably be saved in consequence of these disclosures. The police have not been long in acting on their newly-acquired information; and having obtained search warrants against Messrs Nathaniel and Edwin Lucas, silk manufacturers and dyers, carrying on business at Leigh, near Manchester, and who have also a place of business near Macclesfield, these men have been apprehended in consequence of stolen goods found in their possession. They were brought up for examination at the New Bailey court house, Manchester, on Monday week, before the sitting magistrates, and after a lengthened investigation were remanded till the 15th inst. Mr Maude declined accepting bail.

**EXTRAORDINARY POWER OF RECOGNITION IN A TIGER.**—One day last week a singular circumstance occurred in Wombwell's royal menagerie, corroborative of the retentive memory said to be possessed by this most vicious of the forest tribe, the tiger. A sailor who had been strolling round the exhibition, loitering here and there to admire and identify some of the animals with those he had seen in far distant climes, was attracted by the strange noise made by a tiger, who seemed irritated beyond endurance. Jack, somewhat alarmed, sought the keeper to inquire the cause of so singular a display of feeling, which, he remarked, became more boisterous the nearer he approached the animal; the keeper replied, that the behaviour of the tiger indicated either that he was vastly pleased or annoyed. Upon this the sailor again approached the den, and after gazing at the tiger for a few minutes—during which the animal became frantic with seeming rage, lashing his tail against his sides, and giving utterance to the most frightful howlings—discovered the tiger to be the same animal brought to England under the especial care of the weather-beaten tar. It now became Jack's turn to be delighted, as it appears the tiger was, in thus recognising his old friend, and after making repeated applications to be permitted to enter the den for the purpose, as he said, of "shaking a fist" with the beautiful animal, he was suffered so to do; the iron door was opened, and in jumped Jack, to the delight of himself and striped friend, and the astonishment of the lookers-on. The affection of the animal was now shown, by caressing and licking the pleased sailor, whom he seemed to welcome with the heartiest satisfaction, and when the honest tar left the den, the anguish of the poor animal appeared almost insupportable.—*Devonport Independent*.

#### IRELAND.

**RESISTANCE TO POOR RATES.**—Michael Walsh, collector of poor rates in the union of Tipperary, distrained and impounded for poor rates two cows, the property of a person named Molony, at Roseboro. On the day of sale the cows were driven through the streets and lanes of Tipperary, placarded "To be canted for poor rates," but when put up by Mr

Lamphier, the auctioneer, no bidder could be had, though there were 4,000 or 5,000 persons present from all parts of the surrounding country. Molony drove home his cows exulting in his triumph.—*Tipperary Constitution*. On this subject, the *Waterford Mail*, a conservative paper, makes the following announcement:—"Yesterday (Tuesday) morning detachments of the constabulary force, to the number of about 100, brought in from the counties of Waterford, Wexford, and Kilkenny, left this city, under the command of sub-inspectors Decluzean, Hill, and Greene, to protect Mr Robert Fleming in the levying of the poor rates in the baronies of Gaultier and Middlethird. Up to the period of our going to press, the police had not returned. As to any violence being shown, none is apprehended. The people are, however, we understand, determined to exhibit a passive resistance, and resolved to purchase no goods seized for the rates." The police returned in the evening, "without capturing so much as a goat, or a slip of a pig."

**ATTEMPTED MURDER.**—A Dublin paper states that Mr Dickey, the presbyterian clergyman who was shot in his pulpit, is gradually recovering from the effects of his wounds, and that the Rev. Mr Carey, a degraded presbyterian clergyman, has been arrested on suspicion of being the individual who fired at Mr Dickey.

**FALL IN THE PRICE OF CATTLE.**—The *Times* Dublin correspondent says—"During the last three weeks the prices of cattle and sheep have fallen very considerably at our markets, and the graziers are apprehensive of a still further decline. The export trade from Dublin to Liverpool has almost totally ceased. At Smithfield market this day, although the supply of cattle and sheep was much smaller than usual, there was great difficulty in effecting sales, even at reduced rates."

**HIBERNIAN ELOQUENCE.**—At the weekly meeting of the National Repeal association in the Corn exchange, Dublin, subsequent to the "debate" in the Town council, Mr O'Connell proposed a vote of thanks to the *Freeman's Journal* and the liberal press for giving so full a report of the discussion. The motion was seconded by Mr Steele with the following exordium:—

"Sir—I will not interrupt my august friend, the moral regenerator, O'Connell, at a moment like the present, by any lengthened observations; it would be a kind of traitorism to Ireland, to obstruct the rush of his intellectual tide, at the very crisis when he is about to teach us how Ireland is to be made a nation [peals of applause]. I merely rise to express the delight I feel in rising to second his motion for a vote of gratitude for that resplendent effort of the *Freeman's Journal*—the most resplendent effort ever made in Ireland [shouts of applause and cries of hear]. Mr Chairman, I am a man not overmuch in the habit of using my words at random, as you all know [hear, hear], and I do most solemnly declare that the writing of that report of the proceedings of the town council in the *Freeman's Journal*, was (for what would the proceedings be without circulation through the empire and the world?) nothing short of a deed of blessedness to the cause of liberty and independence of Ireland [enthusiastic cheers]."

The resolution was put and carried with acclamation.

**SUGAR.**—Our monopoly sugar costs us this week 32*s.* 10*d.* per cwt. (34*d.* per lb.), besides duty; whilst equally good free trade sugar would cost only 20*s.* per cwt. (2*d.* per lb.) This cheap free trade sugar may be bought from our merchants any day if we want to send it to be eaten at Hamburgh or Jamaica, but not in England! and it is actually made into a white lump sugar here, and sent to the negroes, who are raising brown monopoly sugar for us, and it is sold to them at 5*d.* per lb., after twice crossing the Atlantic, and being refined.—*Manchester Times*.

We learn from the *Welshman*, that at Llangollen a church has just been built, dedicated to St Colin ap Gwynnawg ap Clydawg ap Cowdra ap Carradog Friechfras ap Friechfras ap Lleyr Merim ap Emion Yrth ap Cunedda Wledig!

The question of the legality of Art-unions has been submitted to Mr Sergeant Talfourd for his opinion. The reply of the learned gentleman is conclusively against those speculations, their promoters, and all who sustain them.

Drury lane theatre has been taken for each Wednesday evening during Lent, by the Anti-corn-law League, at a rent of £60 a night. This will, of course, be the principal scene of the League's operations for some eight weeks to come.

It appears, from an article in the last number of the *Edinburgh Review*, upon the beauties of the advertising system, that the *Times* of London charges 7*s.* for publishing an advertisement of a death, in the simplest form; and that the addition of the words "sincerely regretted" raises the charge to 10*s.*

It is expected that a detachment of the royal sappers and miners will proceed to North America, to be employed in taking a survey of that portion of the long-disputed part of the country termed the Oregon territory.

**CHINESE MAXIM.**—The tongue of women is their sword, and they never suffer it to grow rusty.

Plutarch says, "Prosperity is no just scale—adversity is the true balance to weigh friends."

He who follows in the footsteps of another will always remain behind.—*Michael Angelo*.

Young people invariably wish to be thought older than they are. In a few years they are cured of this penchant, and they run into an opposite extreme.

Among the list of petitions for private bills presented to the House of Commons, appears a petition for a bill for the "Aerial Transit" company.

The committee of the Exeter Anti-slavery society have elected the following gentlemen to represent them in the Anti-slavery convention, to be held in London in June next:—Dr Bowring, M.P., Mr W. Lee, Mr T. Sparkes, and Mr W. Day.



## Religious Intelligence.

**BILSTONE, STAFFORDSHIRE.**—On Thursday, Jan. 19, 1843, public services were held in the independent chapel in the above place to recognise the appointment by the church meeting there, of the Rev. F. Duncombe of Coward college, to the pastorate. In the morning, after reading and prayer, a discourse "On the nature and constitution of a Christian church," was delivered by the Rev. E. Miall of London. A brief narrative of the circumstances which led to the settlement of the minister was given by a member of the church. Mr Duncombe then made a statement of the grounds of his personal faith, his general views of Christian truth and church polity. The Rev. J. Alsop of Birmingham, offered prayers for the divine blessing on the union formed; and the Rev. T. Toller of Kettering, gave the charge. In the evening the Rev. T. East of Birmingham, preached to the people.

**RIPLEY, HANTS.**—The Rev. Robert Davies, from the independent college at Blackburn, having accepted the unanimous invitation from the church at Ripley, near Christchurch, Hants, to the pastoral office, commenced his labours on the first Sabbath in this month.

**PORTSEA.**—At the re-opening of Buckland chapel, Portsea, very interesting services were held on Tuesday, the 7th inst, when the Rev. T. Guyer of Ryde, and the Rev. T. Adkins of Southampton, preached. The sermons were of the very best order; the congregations large; and collections liberal. In the afternoon the Rev. W. Malden of Chichester, read the scriptures and prayed; and in the evening the Rev. T. Cousins of King street chapel, Portsea. The other parts of the devotional services were conducted by the Rev. Mr Morell of Gosport, the Rev. G. D. Mudie of Portsmouth, and by the Rev. Messrs Room, Morris, Cakebread, and Arnutt, baptist ministers in Portsea and Portsmouth. Other ministers were present, attracted by the well-earned popularity of the preachers, and to show their esteem to the worthy and indefatigable minister of the chapel, the Rev. Absalom Jones, by whose successful labours a congregation has been gathered, and a flourishing interest established. Galleries are now appended; a large school room attached; and the chapel, from a dirty miserable looking place, has become one of the prettiest places of worship in Hampshire.

The Rev. Mr Berg, of Silver street chapel, Kensington, has accepted an invitation from the baptist church, Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, to become their pastor; and is to enter on his charge on the last Lord's day in this month.

The *Bible Society Reporter* acknowledges the receipt of £1,000 from the Wesleyan Centenary fund, which was unanimously voted by the Centenary committee, at a special meeting, held on Wednesday, January 11, Dr Hannah, president of the conference, in the chair.

We understand that the Rev. T. East has resigned the charge of the church and congregation at Ebenezer chapel, Steelhouse lane, after a connexion with it of about twenty-three years.—*Birmingham Journal*.

**FINCHLEY, MIDDLESEX.**—The Rev. George R. Birch, who has been for a few years preaching in connexion with the Rev. Mark Wilks, in Paris, has accepted an invitation to succeed the Rev. John Watson, as pastor over the church assembling in the new chapel, Finchley, which is found to be a great blessing in that neighbourhood.

## BIRTHS.

March 7, the wife of the Rev. W. Legg, of Reading, of a son.  
March 6, the wife of Mr R. M. Gill, bookseller, Blackburn, of a daughter.  
March 12, at Mount house, Braintree, Mrs Edward G. Craig, of a daughter.

## MARRIAGES.

Feb. 28, at the Wesleyan Methodist chapel, Hunslet, by the Rev. Alexander Strachan, the Rev. WILLIAM CHAMBERS, Wesleyan minister, London, to MARY, fourth daughter of Anthony HARDING, Esq., of Holbeck lodge.  
March 4, at Bolton street chapel, Salford, by the Rev. D. Howarth, Mr WILLIAM WOODBURN, of Strangeways, to Miss MARY RILEY, of Salford.

## DEATHS.

Feb. 28, the Rev. JAMES RUDWAY, baptist minister, Beech hill. He was a good man, and his end was peace.  
March 3, at Downton, deeply lamented by his relations and friends, the Rev. THOMAS GUNNING, baptist minister, whose unassuming and peaceful deportment obtained the good will of his neighbours.  
At Colchester, ELIZABETH, relict of Edward BRIDGMAN, Esq., of Coney Weston hall, Suffolk, in her 91st year.  
At Thornhaugh, Mrs CURTIS, relict of Mr Thomas Curtis, farmer, in her 99th year. This venerable woman enjoyed good health until a few days before her death, when, being nearly blind, she slipped down stairs, and broke one of her thighs, which produced mortification.  
Feb. 24, in her 97th year, MARY, widow of the late Mr John KNAPTON, farmer, Wescot hill, near Leeds. She had been a member of the Wesleyan Methodist society between 70 and 80 years.  
March 8, in the 23rd year of his age, WILLIAM WOODROFFE, eldest son of the Rev. W. GATHWAITE, of Waddington, Suffolk. He was beloved and deservedly valued in life, and much lamented in death.  
Feb. 26, at Topsham, aged 31 years, LUCY, wife of Andrew BISSET, Esq., of Lincoln's inn, and daughter of Lieut.-colonel T. Permet Thompson, of Blackheath.  
Feb. 25, after a few days illness, aged 56 years, Mr H. R. HUGHES, of Llanecystyn, Carnarvonshire, father of the Rev. J. H. Hughes, independent minister, Llangollen.

## Trade and Commerce.

LONDON GAZETTE.  
Friday, March 10.

The following building is certified as a place duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act of 6 and 7 William IV., cap. 85:—

Westminster chapel, James street, Westminster. J. P. Makeham, superintendent registrar.

## BANKRUPTS.

BUTLER, EDWARD, Carrington, Nottinghamshire, iron merchant, March 21, April 25: solicitor, Mr Shilton, Nottingham.  
BUTLER, GEORGE, Witham, Essex, builder, March 17, April 21: solicitor, Mr Digby, Maldon, Essex.

COX, THOMAS, Gloucester, plumber, March 20, April 21: solicitors, Messrs Milne and Co., Temple, London, and Mr E. Burgess, Bristol.

CHIRTSWYND, WILLIAM JOHN, Elizabeth place, Westminster road, picture dealer, March 21, April 28: solicitor, Mr W. H. Cross, Surrey street, Strand.

CLARK, HENRY, late of Wolverhampton, Staffordshire, and now of 13, George street, Mansion house, City, lock manufacturer, March 21, April 20: solicitor, Mr Steel, 1, Lincoln's inn fields.

CORP, NATHANIEL WEST, Yarmouth, merchant, March 17, April 26: solicitors, Messrs Bartrum and son, Bishopsgate street, London.

DAVIES, THOMAS, 55, Grosvenor street, draper, March 18, April 25: solicitor, Mr James, Basinghall street.

DE CARLE, EDWARD, Norwich, stone mason, March 24, April 26: solicitors, Mr Shearman, Trinity place, Charing cross, and Mr Winter, Norwich.

DICKSON, THOMAS, Thirsk, Yorkshire, woolen draper, March 31, April 26: solicitors, Messrs R. E. and O. Smithson, York, and Mr Bulmer, Leeds.

GOODMAN, THOMAS, and GRIFFIN, WILLIAM HENRY, Looe, Derbyshire, lime burners, March 21, April 21: solicitors, Messrs W. and S. Parsons, Nottingham.

HALL, EVAN, Narbeth, Pembrokeshire, draper, March 28, April 25: solicitor, Mr Leman, Bristol.

HOGROVD, GEORGE, and WALLER, JOSEPH, Sheffield, stone masons, March 23, April 25: solicitor, Mr Broomhead, Sheffield.

HUGHES, HENRY, and HUNTER, WILLIAM, St Leonard's-on-Sea, Sussex, builders, March 21, April 21: solicitor, Mr Cutler, Bell yard, Doctors' Commons.

PETERS, JAMES, Merstham, Surrey, coal merchant, March 24, April 22: solicitor, Mr Bevan, 21, Old Jewry.

ROBSON, GEORGE, jun., Ossaldwick, Yorkshire, cattle dealer, March 21, April 25: solicitor, Mr J. Wood, York.

SAUNDERS, JOHN, Cambridge, horse dealer, March 20, April 25: solicitors, Mr Ravenscroft, 21, Guildford street, Russell square, and Mr C. H. Cooper, Cambridge.

SZARKA, FRANCIS and GEORGE, New Bond street, furriers, March 17, April 19: solicitor, Mr R. Blackmore, St Martin's place, Charing cross.

WILSHIN, JOHN, Reading, Berkshire, draper, March 18, April 28: solicitor, Mr Ashurst, Cheapside.

## SCOTCH SEQUESTERS.

BROWN, JEAN, Troon, Ayrshire, innkeeper, March 15, April 5.

BROWN, THOMAS, Troon, Ayrshire, ship master, March 15, April 5.

BRUCE, JAMES, Edinburgh, organ builder, March 15, April 5.

CAIRNS, GEORGE and JOHN, Glasgow, grain merchants, March 15, April 5.

MARTIN, ADAM, Arbroath, ironmonger, March 16, April 5.

PATERSON, JOHN, Glasgow, merchant, March 14, April 4.

## Tuesday, March 14.

## BANKRUPTCY SUPPLEMENT.

JAMES, JOHN, late of Meeting house court, Old Jewry, merchant.

## BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

LETHBRIDGE, GEORGE PARSONS, Portsea, Hampshire, linen draper.

CALVERT, JOHN, Liverpool, flag merchant.

## BANKRUPTS.

ASLETT, WILLIAM, Bitterde, Hampshire, grocer, March 22, April 24: solicitors, Messrs Hicks and Brackenridge, Bartlett's buildings.

BAINES, THOMAS, Bradford, Yorkshire, worsted spinner, March 25, April 25: solicitor, Mr Joseph Morris, Bradford.

BUNTON, JOHN, Manchester, builder, March 2, April 28: solicitors, Messrs Humphreys and Co., Manchester, and Messrs Walmesley and Co., 43, Chancery lane, London.

BUTT, EDWARD, Great Surrey street, Blackfriars, linen draper, March 28, April 25: solicitor, Mr W. H. Ashurst, 137, Cheapside.

DUGGAN, TIMOTHY, Cheddle grove, Cheshire, calico printer, March 24, April 28: solicitors, Mr Charles Gibson, Manchester, and Messrs Chisholme and Co., 61, Lincoln's inn fields, London.

FRASER, ALEXANDER, Trelleck terrace, Hanover square, lodging-house keeper, March 23, May 2: solicitor, Mr Leakes, Charlotte row, Mansion house.

GOVER, DANIEL, 19, Marquis court, Drury lane, carpenter, March 24, April 25: solicitor, Mr Henry Vallance, 20, Essex street, Strand.

GORTON, WILLIAM, St Peter's chambers, Cornhill, merchant, March 21, April 21: solicitors, Messrs Dickson and Overbury, Frederick's place, Old Jewry.

GREATBATCH, DANIEL, jun., Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire, cabinet maker, March 22, April 21: solicitor, Mr Francis Stanier, Newcastle-under-Lyme.

HOWARTH, WILLIAM, and WILLIAMS, WILLIAM, Manchester, drysalters, April 3, 28: solicitors, Mr Harrison Blair, Manchester, and Messrs Johnson and Co., Temple, London.

HANNAY, JOHN, Coach and Horses, St Martin's lane, victualer, March 23, April 24: solicitors, Messrs Fry and Co., Cheapside.

LOFTY, WILLIAM JERU BEAZELEY HALL, 23, Bennett street, Blackfriars road, ship owner, March 21, April 24: solicitor, Mr Tate, Basinghall street.

MIDDLEHAM, SAMUEL, Clifton, Yorkshire, wine merchant, March 28, April 25: solicitor, Mr Higham, Brighouse, near Huddersfield.

PANTON, HUGH, PANTON, THOMAS WILLIAM, FORSTER, GEORGE, and MORELEY, JOHN WILBERFORCE, Sunderland, iron manufacturers, April 4, May 2: solicitors, Messrs Capes and Stewart, 1, Field court, Gray's inn, London; Mr Ions Harrison, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and Messrs J. J. and G. W. Wright, Sunderland.

POGH, WILLIAM, Gloucester, auctioneer, March 22, April 27: solicitor, Mr Lovegrove, Gloucester.

POPELWELL, FRANK, Batley, Yorkshire, blanket manufacturer, March 24, April 28: solicitor, Mr Thomas Dean, Batley.

ROBINSON, WILLIAM WHITING, Beverley, Yorkshire, linen draper, April 1, 25: solicitors, Messrs Johnson and Co., Temple, London, Messrs Payne and Co., Leeds, and Mr Harrison Blair, Manchester.

SANDERSON, THOMAS, Leeds, woolen draper, March 24, April 28: solicitor, Mr Bradley, Leeds.

WRIGHT, THOMAS, BURGESS, RICHARD, and TAYLOR, RALPH, Tunstall, Staffordshire, earthenware manufacturers, March 23, April 17: solicitor, Mr John Ward, Burslem, Staffordshire.

WHITLEY, WILLIAM, Liverpool, merchant, March 20, April 30: solicitors, Messrs Knapper and Woolwright, Liverpool.

## BRITISH FUNDS.

The funds continue unmoved, but not much business is doing. The news from India and China has not had any effect upon the prices.

	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 percent Consols	96½	96½	97	97	97	96½
Ditto for Account	96½	96½	97	97	97	97
3 per cents Reduced	—	—	—	—	—	—
3½ per cents Reduced	—	—	—	—	—	—
New 3½ percent	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½
Long Annuities	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bank Stock	—	—	—	—	—	—
India Stock	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer Bills	72pm	70pm	71pm	70pm	72pm	72pm
India Bonds	70pm	72pm	75pm	—	—	—

## RAILWAY SHARES.

Birmingham and Derby	41	London and Brighton	36
Birmingham & Gloucester	48	London & Croydon Trunk	11
Blackwall	6	London and Greenwich	5
Bristol and Exeter	56½	Ditto New	—
Cheltenham & Gt. Western	31	Manchester & Birm.	23½
Eastern Counties	19	Manchester and Leeds	75
Edinburgh and Glasgow	45½	Midland Counties	65
Great North of England	60	Ditto Quarter Shares	—
Great Western	66	North Midland	69½
Ditto New	92	Ditto New	—
Ditto Fifts	17½	South Eastern and Dover	21
London and Birmingham	214	South Western	66
Ditto Quarter Shares	52	Ditto New	—

## FOREIGN FUNDS.

Austrian	—	Mexican	31
Belgian	106	Peruvian	20
Brazilian	79	Portuguese 5 per cents	73
Buenos Ayres	29½	Ditto 3 per cents	—
Columbian	26	Russian	113½
Danish	87	Spanish Active	21½
Dutch 2½ per cents	56	Ditto Passive	4½
Ditto 5 per cents	102½	Ditto Deferred	12½

## MARKETS.

## GRAIN, MARK LANE, March 13.

The arrivals last week were unusually large, and have caused a stagnation in the demand. There was a small show of wheat this morning, and the trade was extremely dull; and though really fine qualities could scarcely have been bought cheaper, we consider all other descriptions 1s. to 2s. per qr lower.

The quantity of barley on sale was moderate, and the currency of this day's night was tolerably well supported, particularly for the best malting samples.

Beans and peas met with very little attention, and barely maintained previous rates.

There were few oats offering, and fresh corn was held at former terms.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat, Red New	44	to 46	Malt, Ordinary	46	to 52
Fine	46	to 50	Pale	54	to 57
White	47	to 50	Peas, Hog	26	to 28
Fine	52	to 55	Maple	29	to 31
Rye	30	to 34	Boilers	30	to 33
Barley	23	to 26	Beans, Ticks	24	to 28
Malting	26	to 33			

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Beans, Pigeon	29	to 31	DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN		
Harrow	26	to 30	Wheat	20s.	0d.
Oats, Feed	16	to 18	Barley	9	0
Fine	20	to 22	Oats	8	0
Poland	20	to 23	Rye	11	6
Potato	19	to 22	Beans	11	6
			Peas	11	6

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat	48s.	3d.	Wheat	48s.	3d.
Barley	27	4	Barley	27	4
Oats	17	3	Oats	17	0
Rye	29	0	Rye	28	11
Beans	26	7	Beans	27	2
Peas	28	6	Peas	29	9

## SEEDS.

In seeds there was scarcely anything doing, and quotations remained nominally unaltered.

Remained nominally unentered.			
Linsed	per qr	Clover	per cwt.
English, sowing	48s. to 56s.	English, red....	40s. to 56s.
Baltic, ditto	—	Ditto, white	42. 58
Ditto, crushing	42 45	Flemish, red	49 46
Medit. & Odessa	45 46	Ditto, white	50 53
Hempseed, small	35 38	New Hamb., red	—
Large	46 48	Ditto, white	40 60
Canary, new	62 63	Old Hamb., red	40 43
Extra	64 65	Ditto, white	—
Caraway, old	—	French, red	40 48
New	42 44	Ditto, white	50 53
Ryegrass, English	30 42	Coriander	10 16
Scotch	18 40	Old	16 20
Mustard	per bushel	Rapeseed	per ton
Brown, new	9 11	English, new	31½ to 33½
White	9 10 6	Linsed cakes	
Trefoil	18 22	English	9½ 10s. to 10½ 0s
Old	12 16	Foreign	5½ 10s. to 6½ 0s
Tares, new	4 5	Rapeseed cakes	5½ 5s. to 6½ 0s

## PROVISIONS, LONDON, March 13.

The butter market has altered for the better. Really good and fine quality is much wanted, and anything low in value sells readily. Carlow, 70s. to 96s.; Waterford, 60s. to 78s.; Belfast, 78s. to 84s.; Limerick, 70s. to 74s.; Sligo, 62s. to 68s.; Carrick, 68s. to 78s.; Cork, 78s. to 84s. Foreign—Friesland, fine, 118s. to 120s.; Kiel and Holstein, 104s. to 112s. The demand for bacon has been dull, and the transactions limited; prices are the turn cheaper, the quotations 31s. to 36s. per cwt. Bale and tiece middles in slow sale at 30s. to 34s. Lard at 50s. to 54s. Hams, 50s. to 58s. per cwt.

## HOPS, BOROUGH, Monday, March 13.

In the market there is no alteration, steadiness being the prevailing feature.

## BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, March 13.

The market was excessively heavy, and prices declined 1d. per 8lbs.; and a portion of the supply left the market unsold. This state of the demand is chiefly attributable to the immense receipt of country-killed meat up to Newgate and Leadenhall markets, upwards of 2000 carcasses having been received there during the past week.

## Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal).

Beef	2s. 6d. to 4s. 6d.	Veal	3s. 8d. to 4s. 8d.
Mutton	2 8 to 3 10	Pork	3 0 to 3 10
Lamb	4s. 4d. to 5s. 2d.		

## HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

	Beasts.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.
Friday	483	3,130	136	387
Monday	2,852	26,760	56	419

## NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, March 13.

	Per 8lbs. by the carcass.		Per 8lbs. by the carcass.
Inferior Beef	2s. 4d. to 2s. 6d.	Inf. Mutton	2s. 4d. to 2s. 8d.
Middling do	2 6 to 2 8	Mid. ditto	2 10 to 3 2
Prime large	2 10 to 3 0	Prime ditto	3 4 to 3 8
Prime small	3 2 to 3 6	Veal	3 6 to 4 8
Large Pork	2 10 to 3 4	Small Pork	3 6 to 4 0

## POTATOES, BOROUGH, Monday, March 13.

The arrivals amount to 2650 tons: viz. from York, 870; Scotland, 775; Devons, 445; Kent and Essex, 115; Jersey and Guernsey, 220; Wiltshire, 225 tons.  
York reds, 60s. to 70s.; Kent, whiter, 50s. to 55s.; Scotch ditto, 50 to 60; Guernsey ditto, 45 to 55; Devons, 50 to 60; Wiltshire, 45 to 55.

## COTTON.

The market has been quite steady, though the transactions have not exceeded 3000 bales. Speculators have taken 200 American, and the sales have comprised the following:—2820 American, 31d. at 7d.; 120 Surat, 3½d.; 60 Egyptian, 6d.

## WOOL.

The state of the wool trade for the past week has been a continuation of the languid demand expressed in our last report. The prices for all descriptions remain much the same as last week.

## HAY, SMITHFIELD, March 11.—At per load of 36 trusses.

Coarse Meadow	60s. to 75s.	New Clover Hay	84s. to 116s.
New ditto	—	Old ditto	—
Fine old ditto	80 to 84	Oat Straw	48 to 50
Fine Upland do	85 to 90	Wheat Straw	50 to 52



## Advertisements.

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An Essay. With an Appendix. By D. RHYS STEPHEN, of Newport, Monmouth.

London: published by G. and J. DYER, 21, Paternoster row.

Newport: EDWARDS, Bookseller, Commercial street.

And may be had of all Booksellers.

This day is published, price 2d., or 14s. per 100,

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OF SCOTLAND: a Letter addressed to the Most Noble the Marquis of Cholmondeley. By the Rev. JOHN CUMMING, M.A.

JOHN F. SHAW, 27, Southampton row, Russell square;

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Sold by HOULSTON and STONEMAN, London; Mrs MANN, Leeds; ROBBUCK, Ring street, Huddersfield; HEYWOOD, Oldham street, Manchester; BATEMAN, Preston; WATTS, Snow hill, GUEST, Bull street, and TAYLOR, Small Brook street, Birmingham; Cook, Leicester; and may be had of all Booksellers.

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Ditto, with the Common Prayer, morocco or roan, gilt edges.

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